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Didayi, A picturesque tribe of Orissa

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The Didayi are a small primitive hill tribe inhabiting a small forest clad hill tract hidden inside the inaccessible 4,000' plateau of Kondakeberu range of Eastern Ghats which stretches along the South-Eastern border between Malkangiri and Koraput Sader Subdivisions of Koraput District. Living far away from the main-stream of civilisation, this little community is almost unknown to outside and hence devoid of ethnographic attention. Dr. Verrier Elwin refers them as a 'wild tribe' in his 'Tribal Myths of Orissa' and in 'The Bonds Highlanders'. The natives call themselves 'Gare'-the people. The present name Didayi meaning the wild people has been bestowed upon them by their Oriya neighbours, which they have accepted unhesitatingly.

Population

The whole tribe number, 2,164 individuals including 1,131 males and 1,033 females (1971 Census). In 1947 Census their population was 1,851 only which rose to 1978 (982 males and 1,016 females) in 1981.

Physical features

The Didayi are a well-built, medium statured, brown complexioned, aquish faced, and flat nosed people possessing coarse and wavy hair, scanty bodily hairs, depressed nasal bridge, and concave nasal profile, narrow eyes some times exhibiting traces of Mongolian (Episanthic) eye fold and prominent cheek. Didayi men and women are graceful and charming.

Dialect

The Didayi dialect which comes closer to those of Paraja, Gadaba, Bondo, Soara and Juang belongs to the Non-Kharwari branch of

the Munda-Kol group under Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austic family. Hence linguistically the tribe stands at the most ancient stratum of Austro-Asiatic group of tribes in this country.

The timid Didayi living in the immediate neighbourhood of the Paraja, Gadabs, Kondh and the aggressive Bondo maintain peaceful and cordial social ties with all of them. Dr. Elwin and Thurston consider Didayi as a part of Paraja tribe with whom they are intimately related by their mythical origin and inter marriage relationship. Mr. R. C. S. Belle in the Koraput District Gazetteer states that the Didayi are more or less similar to Gadabs than Bondo. According to Furer Heimendorf the Didayi and the 'Redds of Bison Hills' are of a related stock and are also remnants of an ancient Asiatic culture despite their present diversities. However the Didayi Gadabs identify themselves as separate tribal group and regard all their tribal neighbours as their brethren.

Legendary Origin

The Universe, as little was filled with infinite water. Once a gourd containing two little children, a boy and a girl, fell from heaven and started floating on the surface of water. The panicked children cried helplessly that echoed at Mahapuru ears. He sent a crow to find out the matter. The crow discovered the source and reported Mahapuru who came down to help the destitute children. He tore off a handful of stems from the sky and planted as mother earth. Then he created trees, flowers, mountains, animals, birds, rivers, springs, lakes and ponds out of his hair, blood, teeth, eye-brow, sweat, cough, spitings and urine respectively. After creating the world He directed the boy and the girl to

travel in opposite direction. They obeyed. After a long separation they met again below a Kardu tree when they have attained their blooming youth. Inevitable carnal desire induced them in passionate love. The children born out of their union scattered all over the earth and became Adhvatis like Bonds, Gadava, Paraj, Didayi, etc.. Hence all the Adhvatis are believed to be their brethren and the Bonds are considered as the elder brothers of Didayi.

Settlement pattern and housing

Formerly the Didayi were semi-nomadic shifting cultivators preferring to dwell on the plateau amidst sylvas surroundings. Now a bulk of their population have migrated to the plains and valleys on either side of the mountain range—preferably more to the Eastern valley side in search of better livelihood and settled in 20 villages adopting low land plough cultivation. Here impact of neighbouring Oriya and Telugu speaking population is noticeable in the spheres of their social behaviour, economy, material culture, dress and dialect. Their dialect now contains a few Telugu and Oriya terms. These villages are not only bigger in size, compact and populous—often consisting as much as 118 households (village Oringi) but also socio-economically better off as compared to the smaller and unclan up-hill settlements hardly comprising more than 10 households scattered at random. The hill Didayi because of their geographical, cultural and physical seclusion have remained more primitive and backward than their plain living counterparts. Thus on the basis of such visible cultural disparity between both the groups, there can be made a dichotomy as the plains and the hill or highland Didayi.

The Didayi villages are characterised by isolated homesteads fenced within enclosures scattered at random implying individualistic housing pattern. Houses, in the Didayi villages lie scattered. In hill villages the difference between two houses may be one kilometre or so. In the large-sized plain villages families belonging to different clans and communities live in separate herds inter-connected by narrow foot paths. "Gulising" the communal place for conducting the dances, ceremonies, festivals council meetings is located at a central place of a Didayi village.

Didayi houses are rectangular in size having mud walls and floor. The grass (Pin) thatched sloping roofs are supported by centre and side poles. Each house had a long verandah (Minah Pida) and a short verandah (Dima Pida) in front separated by the main door entrance. The verandahs are used for sleeping by grown up children at night, and grinding and husking purposes, in day time. In hill villages smaller verandahs are seen because nobody sleeps there under severe cold climate. The houses are divided into three parts, i.e. kitchen, living and store, which are often separated by wattle partitions. The hearth (trunk) is built around one corner below an over-hanging waste container to keep provisions and dry grains during monsoons. The middle portion meant for living and sleeping is furnished with mats and gumed cot. Pots, utensils, baskets, etc., are kept on a platform called "Bakha". The remaining few material belongings including agricultural implements are kept in the store. The remarkable feature of Didayi housing is the attic made of reeds or bamboo yielding approached by a bamboo ladder. It serves as general store room especially for storing grains and food stuff in large baskets (Hondra). Generally Didayi houses are neat and clean and have one door but without windows. Domestic animals are sheltered in separate sheds. Indeed Didayi housing is much similar to that of neighbouring Bonds.

Economy

The traditional subsistence economy of Didayi is mainly dependent upon cultivation supplemented by hunting and food collection. The hill Didayi still continue to practice shifting cultivation, "Bri"—the shifting cultivation sites are found on precipitous hill slopes around Didayi settlements.

Shifting Cultivation

The Didayi follow their traditional method of practising shifting cultivation. Even though, it requires the minimum and simplest kind of implements, manure and other inputs, the output is inadequate to fill their stomach for the whole year. The crops cultivated are Red-gram (Giva), Jowary millet (Dahua), Black-gram (Rania), Brinjal (Korahul), Millet, Nigra (Osi), Ragi and Suku, etc. Generally the steep hill slopes with rich vegetation which is adjacent to the village is selected for practising shifting cultivation.

The operation starts from winter (January-February) when the patch is cleared off. The Didayi use axe and sickle to cut down trees and shrubs respectively. These are allowed to dry up for a month or so after which the time is set. Then the ashes are distributed all over the plot which is fenced with waste. The sowing of seeds starts from June—after the onset of monsoon, followed by weeding with the help of hoe and weeding after one and half months. Small iron sickles are used for reaping the corn. Threshing is done on a clean ground especially prepared for this purpose by beating with wooden sticks or treading of the animals. The grain and seeds are carefully stored in storing baskets. Alternatively the plot at one site is cultivated in cyclic rotation for three consecutive years and then abandoned for 10 to 12 years.

In the past the Didayi were enjoying unchallenged liberty to exploit the forest around them to procure all their needs. But now most of their former shifting cultivation tracts are projected under reserve forests, reducing them to a stage of starvation. Yet the hill Didayi carry on this old practice in unreserved forest areas with permission from the Forest Officials.

Plough Cultivation

The plains Didayi are socio-economically better off than their hill brethren. They have been used to settle themselves permanently taking up plough cultivation and also wet land cultivation whenever possible. The new agrarian pattern demands better implements, domestic animals, organised endeavour and skills to cover larger area effectively. The yield is definitely higher often producing surpluses. The need of money for purchasing sophisticated implements agrarian animals from local markets and paying land revenue oriented the natives to the money and market economy over and above the former barter system. The noticeable enhancement of living standards and social status of prosperous cultivators have gradually tempted all but many plains Didayi families living in lower slopes, foot hills and valleys (in the villages Kotingi, Oringi, Mudulpada, Purna Gurnea, Karampur, Sindhiguda) to change over to plough cultivation from shifting cultivation. The main crops grown are paddy, jowary millet, ragi, sorgh, pulses besides the recent addition of vegetables like brinjal, tomato, onion, chilies, beans, pumpkin which fetches ready cash at the local market. Thus the perceptible shift from hoe to

plough brings about a socio-economic revolution precipitating far reaching implications in Didayi standard of living, despite the unsuitability of the major part of the Didayi area for plough cultivation and other related activities.

In spite of the forestaid agrarian revolution majority of Didayi population are poor, landless and lead a hand to mouth living. The hill dwelling shifting cultivators always look at the forest for their needs. The landless and marginal farmers either having less land or infertile land with lower yield try to make up their deficits by working as agricultural labourers under their well-to-do neighbours, forest contractors to earn wages in cash or kind. In addition to that most of them resort to food gathering and collection, basket making as subsidiary vocations so as to keep their body and soul together.

Collection and gathering of the forest products.

The Didayi men, women and children go in small batches of 2 to 8 persons with digging sticks and collecting baskets to procure wild fruits, roots and tubers in all seasons. Women and children come back home in the evening while the men camp inside the forest at night to continue their mission for a longer period. Fruits like mango (Uli), Kendu (Tah), Dimiri ((Lawa), Tangari Sial (Hiansa), Kabri, Tal (Taria), Tamand, roots and tubers called Kira Gha, Toris, Sorella, Temp and leaves known as Korha, Dhuly, Casibade, Bhaji, Gudali are among the precious items collected from the jungle. Motus flowers and seeds are procured for brewing liquor and extract oils. Kendu leaves used in manufacture of Bida are collected to get money by selling them to local contractors.

Hunting

Didayi are hunters with their bow and arrow of which they are proud of themselves. Hunting was concomitant with their food gathering stage. Presently the paucity of animals, restrictions on hunting and the economic change over to plough cultivation have limited the scope but could not reduce the importance of hunting by the Didayi. The ceremonies and rituals connected with hunting are still observed. Didayi men take advantage leisure especially during festive occasions in summer to hunt in group after profitmaking forest deities.

Birds and animals except the totemic animals such as snake, tiger, monkey, deer, crocodile and tortoise are killed and eaten. The kill is equally distributed among all the households of the village and guests who are present on that day. Only the real hunter, Headmen—Nalk and the Plashi, the priest get a slightly bigger share. The hunter receives a larger portion of hind quarters and the skin of the animals while the Plashi receives the head. Didayi use simple bow and arrow, axe (Tangli) and trained dogs in hunting.

Fishing

Fishing is a pastime of Didayi dwelling in the banks of Muchkund river and perennial streams. Small hand nets and fishing baskets are mainly used for this purpose. Often they kill fish by poisoning water.

Animal domestication

The hill Didayi rear few animals like dogs, pigs and cocks. The plain Didayi keep cattle for ploughing and supply of meat. They are not used to drink milk but take eggs. Now a days they are becoming interested in keeping goats, sheep for meat and better financial gain.

Basketry

Didayi men and women are very good at preparing various handy materials out of bamboo in their spare time to meet their requirements making use of plenty available bamboo from the jungle. The bamboo products include a variety of grain storing baskets, winnowing fan, mat, wattle, bolt snow, digging stick, fishing basket, large hat, etc., which they use themselves.

Division of Labour and Mutual Co-operation

Sexwise division of labour is conspicuously marked among the Didayi regarding carrying out their regular subsistence activities. Men shoulder the harder responsibilities like cutting down trees, tilling land, constructing and thatching the house, hunting and food preparation in communal feasts which are taboos for women. Women apart from their cooking, clearing utensils sweeping and the household activities co-operate with men to work in the fields, clearing shifting cultivation sites, weeding, fencing, reaping and threshing corn, harvesting, preserving grain and food materials, rearing animals, collection of food and forest produces,

fishing, basket making, in all possible ways. Among the Didayi co-ordination of efforts and collective endeavour through mutual help and co-operation show significant characteristics of their social life based on peaceful co-existence that is observed particularly in hunting, in group, house building, felling down trees, harvesting, marriage and mortuary rites and in all communal festivities whenever and wherever such need is felt.

Food Habits

Rice, ragi and millet constitute the staple food of Didayi supplemented by vegetables, fish, meat, eggs a variety of seasonal fruits, roots and tubers collected from the jungle. Few simple items from boiled rice, ragi and millet and their grooks are prepared and regularly eaten. Spices, tamarind, chilli, salt, turmeric are also used for making vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. The Didayi eat thrice daily—morning, noon and night. Men, women and children are addicted to drinking country liquor brewed by themselves from Salap and Motus. An enormous quantity of liquor, cakes and other delicacies prepared from millet and rice are taken during festive occasions.

Material Culture

The Didayi are simple and self sufficient. They are content with what they have at present and don't want more than their actual requirement. They fight with their immediate physical environment with the aid of the least and simplest kind of material objects, tools and artifacts most of which they design themselves. To cultivate the land the Didayi needs plough (Sethi) with iron share (Sinieth), yoke (Rigro), hoe (Mufwa), sickle (Hoieth), axe and knife. Food collection is carried out with simple digging sticks having iron heads, collecting baskets, hoe, knife and axe. The weapons of hunting are simple bow and arrow and bolt snow (Bisa) made of bamboo, axe and knife. The fishing implements include few variety of fishing baskets of bamboo—a conical one (Gumghar), a semi apical one (Gewe) and a tumbler type (Shandar) besides small hand nets. The Didayi household possesses scanty material belongings such as brass, aluminium and earthen utensils, gourds to store water, grain storing baskets, winnowing fans, mat and wattle made of bamboo, ropes, poles, grinding stone, husking lever, etc.

Dress and Personal Adornments

The traditional dress of women is known as "Kasfu", a self made short, unstitched clothing made of bark fibres and thread. It was being wound around waist to cover the lower parts of the body while the upper part left unswathed. But now the popularity of cotton sarees and blouses among Didayi women have replaced this 'Kasfu'. Didayi women are fond of wearing ornaments like silver, aluminium, gold and bead necklaces, brass ear rings and nose rings, aluminium and brass rings in finger and toes, aluminium anklets (Pohari), the glass and aluminium bangles. Wearing nose rings (Tandrimu) is compulsory for all married women. Men put on a small piece of a loin cloth. Gradually they have started wearing shirts, banians, dhoti, etc. by the influence of plain people. Use of fashionable dresses and

ornaments and modern cosmetics is unknown to both the sexes.

Social Organisation

The structural organisation of Didayi society is characterised by moiety and totemism. The whole society is divided into two exogamous segments or moiety each composed of totemic group of clans. One's own moiety is his (Niramon) or group of brothers and the other one to which he can marry is his moiety. There are 6 exogamous group of clans called "Gta" or Bonao "namely" Nkhoo (tiger), Mals (goats), Gbe (deer), Moesli (Crocodile), Gai (Tortoise) out of which the first one, i.e., the Nkhoo Gsa constitutes one moiety and the remaining four are grouped under the other moiety. The social structure is represented in the following table:

Didayi Social Structure

	Didayi Tribe				
	Moiety (I)		Moiety (II)		
	Nkhoo Gsa (Tiger)	Mals Gsa (Goats)	Gbe Gsa (Deer)	Muesli Gsa (Crocodile)	Gai Gsa (Tortoise)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Totemic groups of clan name.	1. Gudia .. 2. Ghia .. 3. Dongor Majhi .. 4. Dongor Mejhli .. Palasi .. 5. Nika .. 6. Muduli .. 7. Muduli Palasi .. 8. Sig ..	1. Ntar .. 2. Golyeda .. 3. Puji .. 4. Gta .. 5. Palasi .. 6. Truk .. 7. Snobo .. 8. Angra .. 9. Bisi .. 10. Kusush .. 11. Miah .. 12. Rimbi ..	1. Sanyasi .. 2. Bhoja .. 3. Golyeda .. 4. Rajpada ..	Kumbai .. Bachhi ..	

Each clan (gta) has its own tale to tell their relationship with the totemic ancestor. The Didayi rarely worship their respective totemic animals but they avoid killing or injuring them. The clans are strictly exogamous because members of one clan consider themselves as brothers and sisters. Hence any sexual relationship between them is regarded as incest. This rule is not strictly followed now-a-days. There is evidences of inter-marriage between Muesli Gta and Gai Gta which belong to same moiety.

Lineage

The clan is divided into several lineage groups. Consequent kind of patrilineally related families in a village form one lineage or "Biria". Manang and Dhanang the eldest and the second eldest male members of Biri discharge important social functions in the matters of regulating the conduct of members and bringing the offender to book. They represent and protect interest of their lineage members in Lepur—the traditional village Panchayat. The proposal for marriage,

bride price and divorce, etc., are dealt through *Maning* and *Dhensang* along with other senior members of the lineage. Gradually the lineage organisation is declining.

Family

Family, the smallest basic unit and institution of Didiyi society is patriarchal in nature. It is mostly nuclear and monogamous type, which includes the man, wife and their unmarried children. Sometimes the membership is extended to the widowed, divorced or unmarried sister or daughter, newly married son and daughter-in-law dependent old parents. However married sons leave the family of orientation to live in their own families of procreation within a year of marriage. Family members, the husband, wife and children form a close knit group to struggle against the physical environment. The role and status of each member is well defined. Within a very congenial atmosphere the children are brought up with extreme fondness and love. They help their parents when they grow up. Women exercise a dominant influence over domestic affairs and the husband as well. Succession and inheritance of property is strictly patrilineal. If a man dies leaving a daughter but no son his property goes to his brother.

Marriage

The institution of marriage is the most significant event in Didiyi social life. Not only it unites two souls to enter into their newly made separate love nest and reproduces but it confers a prestigious status of full fledged manhood and womanhood and membership of society as well providing social economic and emotional security also. Monogamy is the common practice although very few cases of polygyny are available. Didiyi prefer adult marriage; girls are fit for marriage after attaining puberty, boys marry within 18 to 24 years of age. Boys and girls are free to select their mate without least parental interference. Premarital and post-marital love and sexual intimacy is present and tolerated in the society. Therefore most Didiyi marriages are love marriages. Consent of the girl is badly essential in finalising such affairs. The marriage season is between January and June. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday are considered most auspicious for the purpose. The following kinds of marriages are practised.

1. *Cross cousin marriage*—(*Marshaboyi*) It is considered to be the most ideal form of marriage.

Marriage of a boy with his maternal uncle's daughter (*Marshaboyi*) is most welcomed. However both boy and the girl are free to choose their beloved partner transgressing this preferential matrimony. In that case the boy appeases his maternal uncle by paying a compensation—("Mansghar") before one month of his marriage and frees himself from this social bondage and obligation with the latter. Otherwise his marriage and post-marital life will be in shambles by the curse and black magic inflicted by his aggrieved uncle.

2. *Marriage by negotiation*—(*Tozhu*) *Tozhu* is the traditional form of marriage in which boy's parents negotiate matrimony with the girl's parents through "*Jhora-Khasis*"—the go between. Girl's parents accept the proposal after getting the consent of their daughter. Few days before the wedding bride price is settled and paid to girl's parents after which the marriage is finalised. On the wedding day the girl comes to the boy's house in a procession with her maids and relations where she is pompously received by groom's mother and village boys and girls. Marriage rituals take place amidst dance, music and fun fare. The groom puts a ring on the left ring finger of the bride and takes her to his home. On the day following the wedding parents and elderly ladies of the newly wed pair sit in a customary session to offer valuable advice regarding ideal conjugal life to the couple. It is called "*Budhi Gyen Bhashangis*". Then a sumptuous feast is given to the villagers. As it is an expensive and elaborate affair only well-to-do persons can afford for such type of marriages.

3. *Marriage by elopement*—(*Uduila*)—The boy elopes with his beloved and hides her in a friend's or relatives house. Girl's parents hearing this come to the boy with their relatives and villagers to demand bride price. Marriage ritual follows negotiation of bride price which is less than that of *Tozhu* wedding.

4. *Marriage by capture*—The boy kidnaps the girl of his choice from the market place with the help of his friends when he fails to marry her otherwise. The girl is kept in the friend's house and given the best food and treatment in order to get her consent for marriage. After a week her parents and relations come to the boy to claim bride price and finalise the marriage which is always subject to the willingness of the girl.

5. *Marriage by intrusion*—(*Ghaslamendi*)—The girl enters forcibly into the family of his beloved

and stays there. If the boy is willing to accept her he can do so but he does not pay brideprice in that case. Otherwise he throws a pot of water on the yard and breaks off 3 broom sticks which means the girl may face disastrous circumstances like the pot of water in case she urges to live with him. Such refusal is rare.

6. *Marriage by service*—(Chetjwe) A poor boy who is unable to pay the bride price for his desired girl may in lieu of that serve her parents for a stipulated period of time usually for 3 years. Then he is allowed to marry the girl and move to his new home with her. The boy approaches girl's parents with a gourd of Salap wine and a goat. When he finally leaves with his bride he is presented with a cow, a goat, a gold nose ring, other brass and bead ornaments, cloth, about 10 Kgs. of rice, salt, negi, millet, and Rs. 30 by his parents-in-law in the presence of relatives, village elders, Nalk and Palasi who perform rites-de-marriage.

Post Marital love affairs and re-marriage—Didai women tend to indulge clan destiny in licentious relationships with men other than their husband. If such illicit intimacy is caught red handed by the husband he has every right to beat the adulterer and caution him against further advances. If he likes so he can bring him before the traditional village Panchayat. In case the accused pleads guilty or his guilt is proved otherwise he is fined and warned against repetition. If the woman wants to leave her husband and marry him, re-marriage is allowed by the Laper collecting a fine of Rs. 50, two goats and one pig which is deposited in the common village fund except the cash that is paid to the husband as compensation. When one's wife elopes with her lover the former claims compensation double the amount of bride price he has paid for the woman from the latter. In case of rape and pregnancy caused by rape or illicit relationship the male offender is severely fined and forced to marry the victim by the Laper which accepts the truth of woman's accusation.

Widow marriage, jiwate and Sonarite—Widow marriage and junior levirate is prevalent among the Didai. A young widow may marry the younger brother of her late husband to avoid complication regarding property inheritance if she has children. Of course she is free to marry any male person of her choice other than the younger brother. In that case her new

husband has to pay compensation to the younger brother of her ex-husband and to her parents-in-law. Or she may leave her ex-husband's house and stay with her parents house if she so likes. Illicit relationship with one's younger brother's wife is strictly tabooed even if she is young and widow. Sonarite and sororal polygyny, i.e. marrying wife's younger sister is absent though not prohibited.

Divorce

The cases of divorce and re-marriage due to unhappy marital life are few. Only men have the right to divorce under the following grounds:—

1. Illicit relationship of the wife with a lover.
2. Elopement with a lover.
3. Laziness and non-co-operation of the wife in domestic affairs such as cooking, child care, food gathering, etc.
4. Misbehaviour, mal-adjustment, mis-understanding and frequent quarrels between the man and wife.

Sterility or barrenness is not accepted as a reason for divorce since they believe that either of the spouses are responsible for this. The husband can take a second wife with the consent of his first wife to get children in this case. The divorce is finalised in presence of the husband, wife's brother, the Nalk, Chalen, Palasi, the lineage elders and village elders. The husband pays Rs. 10 and a saree to his departing wife. She can re-marry after few months. In that case her former husband cannot claim his share of compensatory bride price from her new husband. Though wife cannot divorce her husband she can desert him any time and stay with anybody else she loves. Thus her husband is forced to divorce her after collecting compensation from her second husband.

Kinship

The relationship and behaviour pattern of kinship in Didai society corresponds to its classificatory terminological sub-system. Father's elder brother and mother's elder sister are called 'Baba' and are highly respected. The relationship with father's elder brother and his wife and mother's younger sister are of respect and familiarity. Father's sister, mother's brother and wife's parents are highly respected. Externs

form of joking relationship and intimacy is permissible among cross cousins who are potential mates, grand parents, grand children and wife's younger sister while there is strict avoidance between a man and his wife's mother and elder sister, a woman and her husband's elder brother and parents.

Life Cycle

Didayi's journey from mother's womb to the grave is a passage of seven steps. Their kinship system plays an indispensable role in these phases of an individual's life cycle. Biris women and neighbouring kins women attend the woman during her child birth. The new born infant is given a name and membership of the society in presence of the kith and kin on the day of name giving ceremony (Senajha), held on the tenth day of his birth. Mother protects the helpless child against evil eye by putting iron bangles and father ties a black thread (Bisaya) around his waist to ensure their life long ties. His first hair cutting ceremony is performed by his father when he is 2 or 3 months old. His father facing east, buries hair shaved from his head. A chicken is sacrificed, cooked with rice and eaten with Salap wine in a feast by the family and Biris members. The child is given the soup of chicken's head and a small peg of plum wine to sip. Likewise when the first deciduous tooth of the child's lower jaw drops out it is buried in the yard, if it belongs to the upper jaw it is thrown on the roof by the mother.

Thus the infant steps into the first phase of his life—'Child' and commences his onward journey to reach his Gorhoyo—the childhood and then gradually steps into adolescence the third phase, followed by the youth. The fourth stage is the last and the most romantic period of his life. No specific rites, ceremonies and taboos are associated with initiation and puberty. At this time the boys are called 'Ingir' and the girls 'Sholir' who enjoy un-fettered freedom of pre-marital love and romance among themselves before they finally chose their life companion to be tied in wed lock and be called as Bhendia Bingshek (Men) and Diya Koya (Women).

Death Rites

As soon as a person dies the women folk start wailing loudly. The Chalen announces the sad event inside the village and the deceased's consanguinal and affinal kins living in adjacent villages are called for. The nearest kins such as the brother and parallel cousins move the

corpse to the front yard, bathe it anointing turmeric and oil, wear it a new cloth, put it on a bamboo mattress and tie it across a bamboo pole. It is carried to the cremation ground on the shoulders by the male agnatic relatives belonging to the deceased's clan excluding sons and brothers. Women and few Doms residing in village accompany the funeral procession wailing, weeping and beating their breasts. The corpse is kept on the pyre with its head to the east and the brother ignites the pyre after peeling the nails of the deceased and cutting off the Boya's the black thread tied around a persons' wrist by his father on the day on his name giving ceremony. Some of the deceased's favourite belongings like axe, hoe, bow and arrow, knife, etc. are thrown to the pyre. After the body is burnt down the brother pours water on the ashes and the whole party returns taking bath enroute. They are fed a vegetarian meal by the deceased's Biris members. On that day cooking in the dead man's house and taking non-vegetarian meal or liquor is strictly prohibited.

Much similar to that of Hindu mortuary rites, the Didayi perform the purificatory 'Lykandaho' ritual (like Hindu Deesh) on the 10th day of death and 'Gighayasha' the Sradha on the ensuing first anniversary in order to restore status quo from the mortuary pollution and propitiate the departed soul against causing harm to the life and property of the living relatives. Palai, the village priest conducts the 'Lykandaho' by offering the ghost a black chicken and rice which is cooked and taken by all the Biris members of the dead person. The 'Gighayasha' is conducted more or less in the similar way in which the ghost is offered food at his funeral site and then all the relatives as well as the villagers take part in a big feast accompanied by alcoholic drinks and dance. This ceremony marks the end of annual mourning when the departed soul attains the status of the dead ancestors.

The aforesaid agenda of funeral observances is not followed for abnormal deaths caused by small pox, cholera and other epidemics, by accidents, such as drowning, falling down from a tree, attack of a tiger and other wild animals and also for the death of pregnant women and small children. Such dead bodies are immediately buried and a purificatory ritual is performed by the Gwaler, the witch doctor immediately within a week of death so as to save the relatives and villagers from the evil wrath of the angry and

fearsome ghost. Only old age deaths are considered normal and natural by the Didayi.

Political Organisation

The Didayi are custom bound and peace loving people. Social control and conformity are effectively ensured in their socio-political set up. Living in geographical isolation they were in the past nevertheless politically well organised developing traditional territorial and autonomous socio-political system at central, regional and village level. The central territorial organisation was a larger union of all Didayi villages whose meetings were being regularly held at Kudumulgumma to solve inter-village and inter-tribal problems, to consider bigger issues ultra vires to lower political level and reinforce esprit-de-corps in their tribal life at large. The elderly persons and the traditional village officials like Naik and Chalan from component villages were attending the meeting. The regional territorial organisations were composed of few contiguous or neighbouring villages sharing most or less the same geographical environment so as to enjoy and defend their common usufructuary rights to exploit their well defined forest territories. These local units in the pre-independence period branched into Mustajari system as revenue units under Jaypuri Zamindari resembling the Mutha organisation of the Konda and Koya. In these days such old traditional political institutions no longer exist except as the sweet memories of Didayi old men.

Village

Village is the only political organisation that has survived the test of time. A Didayi village (Mihli) is the smallest basic socio-political unit that is autonomous, independent and self-sufficient having full access to its assets and resources including exclusive ownership rights to the land and forest. It is a co-operative and corporate body functioning through its own agencies and arrangements. There is a village Council, the Lepar consisting of village officials such as the Naik or the Headman, Chalan his executive assistant and Palai, the priest. Naik is the secular chief of the village. His post is elective, but hereditary in actual practice. On vacancy it is taken over by the nearest patrilineal or matrilineal kin of the predecessor and thus remains inside the same lineage and clan. In the Didayi village Oringi the former Naik, Bude Naik relinquished his post when his

old age and deafness impaired his efficiency and his brother Basu Naik succeeded him. The Naik continues in his post as long as he enjoys the confidence of the people and the Lepar of the village. His Office is most important since his normal duties and responsibilities involve administering law and order, justice, peace, good will and conformity in the village in accordance with their social norms. He also represents his village in all occasions, protects its interest, heads the village council and executes its decisions. He is assisted by the Chalan whose post is not hereditary but given to any one even a non-Didayi member of the village who volunteers his service for this. He acts as the official messenger, convener of village council meetings, organiser, fund collector and assistant to the Palai for communal functions and host to the visiting guests and officials.

Palai is the sacerdotal chief who usually hails from one clan or lineage for generations though his office is not hereditary. He organises and conducts communal rituals, special rituals for the success of hunting expeditions, for driving out evil spirits causing epidemics, drought or otherwise harmful to the life and property of the villagers and for such occasions as birth, death, marriage, besides fixing up dates for the annual calendar of rituals and ceremonies and propitiating gods, deities ancestral spirits regularly.

Lepar or traditional village council is a corporate body of household heads headed by the Naik. It is a well defined powerful organisation regulating all corporate activities in social, political, religious and economic spheres of the village. It elects and removes the office bearers, decides cases relating to theft, quarrel, incest, adultery, marriage, bride price, divorce, etc. and punishes the wrong doer sometimes by ostracism or ex-communication but more often than not in terms of fine which is proportionately shared among the aggrieved party, the village officials and the council members. Its meetings are regularly held in an open space inside the village called—Gulung, on specific dates and also as and when required. The village elders more specifically the elderly persons from the numerically dominant clan exercise a decisive influence over the socio-political system of the village. The Naik usually comes from the dominant clan and lineage. In the post-independent days with the radical transformation of socio-political environment and particularly with the super imposition of statutory Pancha-

yanraj system over Didayi political set up, a new pattern of leadership is emerging to challenge the pre-existing political set up. Evidently the member the new office bearer is gaining importance in the village affairs in parallel with the traditional chief. Nak where the Nari and member are not one and the same person. In the plains Didayi village Oring, Sanyu Angri, the present member appeared more confident and smart in respect of dealing with outsiders and visiting officials to the author.

Today the Didayi people living in plains come in contact with the outsiders in the weekly markets at Kudumalugamma and Oculudali held

on Thursday apart from numerous other modern agencies of acculturation. Their behavioural patterns of culture is undergoing a slow change that is overtly visible while their original core of social life remains in tact. As a result a superiority complex is developing among them with relation to their hill living counterparts whom they look down upon for uncivilised and undignified habits. Therefore they do not like to make matrimonial alliances with the latter. No longer the plains Didays are the living specimens of isolated wild people of Dr Elwin if one observes their degree of sophistication and acquired manners with the outsiders nowadays.

T H R T I

Lewis Road, Shubeneswar

Aspects of Juang Folklore

Sir K. C. Mishra

Introduction

The romance and love, the honor and glory that once quivered the skeleton of Juang in the remote past, being unknown, still murmured in their stories, songs, dances combinedly taken as folklore and

The present work is an attempt to give a fundamental picture of the folklore of the Juangs

Folklore to day does not merely involve a collection of

The description of the Juang folklore is presented in two major thought lines—

- 1) presentation of folklore data through a well planned classification and
- 2) study of the Juang folklore from these obtained classified materials

Definition of Folklore

The term 'Folklore' has been defined by many authorities in various dimensions. Etymologically speaking, folklore is the knowledge of a group

of people more or less primitive. But the

additional meanings of the folklore is that folklore is "said to be, or to be in oral tradition". This definition includes almost all the items of a non-literate society, where everything is orally transmitted. There are certain relations which are too narrow in nature, for example, V. Jan Becomes verbal art" speaks of items such as folktales, myths, legends, folk songs, ballads, epic and poems, proverbs, riddles, formulae of various kinds. According to American Anthro professor definition, folklore is "art and life quality transmitted". Samuel P. Bay defines it as "a non-revision of tradition, belief and custom as the definition of folk". According to him, "the theory of a folk custom tradition" called "a custom which is accepted from folk literature". In broader sense, folk is defined by E. C. Yampoussou as "folk".

Folklore means folk brings it comprehensive an knowledge that is transmitted by word of mouth and a crafts and technique that are learned by imitation or example, as well as products of these arts. Taylor, Braken and Huxley have gone to the extent of including Juangs in the folklore. But in the literature, there are many more purely oral culture we may call as folklore.

Taking folklore in these broadest sense, no proper study of Juangs is possible without any difficulty. In preparing this work I have adopted the broadest definition of Merz, Leach, France and V. Jan and A. D. Dumas, which are practical and pointed towards the exact nature of folklore. All the items (which are included in definitions of above authors) are examined on a statistical

basis can be described under four major items. They are—

- Folk literature
- Folk Art (including dance).
- Folk belief and custom, and
- Crafts and language.

Out of these four major items folk literature and art are anonymous choises of all folk art. Hence, our working definition of Jungs' folklore in the light of the above informations will be : folklore is a complex whole (Tylore) which includes folk literature, art and music of a folk and which are capable of being transmitted from one generation to another.

Relevance of study

Anthropology has got a close relationship with folklore. Any ethnographic account of a tribe is incomplete if it does not include items such as folktales, legends, myths, ballads, proverbs and all other forms of folk literature, along with kinship organisation, political control and economic and social organisation. The study of folklore of a tribe is important so far as it contributes to the aptitude in making of the culture of the Jungs. Its importance is its diversity and in fact one of the reasons is no known culture which does not include folklore. Any people's perspective of their culture, irrespective of the technology, must derive from folklore. As folk

lore is tales and proverbs known to both the village and urban literate and non literate people. As it binds the record of the past events, it helps the ethnographers as a window light in understanding the living pre history. Folklore serves to sustain and uphold religious, political, social and economic institutions and play an important role as an educative device in their transmission from one generation to another.

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Method of study

As the folklore data are cumulative nature, direct observation and participant method was employed to collect data. Most of the information is gathered in Kanyan Gane Panchayat of Koonhar district, Orissa. The following thirteen villages of Kanyan Gane Panchayat were covered—

- The villages are, Kanyan, Kuzwar, Atdiha, Tapoda, Raijha, Ganeska, Gupregar, Danara, Phelbar and Budhghar.

The 'Jungs'—A Brief Introduction

The present folklore thought centres around the Jungs, one of the most primitive tribes of India. They are a tribe of Munda speaking aboriginal people inhabiting the forest clad upland regions and the villages of Koonhar district of Orissa. The complexion of their skin varies from light brown to dark brown. They have many wavy hairs and yellowish eyes. In general they are of medium height.

Village Organisation

The Jungs mostly live in the villages or in hamlets. The houses in the villages are scattered and no definite village structure is marked. A community, the majang or 'Dauhar' or Mandughar or Dhar, is it must be present at the entrance of every village. Every Jung village is headed by a Pradhan (headman) who in the social and political affairs represents the village. The village also has a 'Dahur' the religious head and a Rai Laha.

There are two institutions present in the village.

1. The majang (Youth dormitory) is the centre of dancing activities of the Jung. Married youth. Most important decisions relating to the village and inter village affairs are settled here.

2. Dahur is the religious institution. The village deity placed on a piece of stone at the entrance of the majang which controls the village.

Marriage

Family—Many nuclear joint families rarely are.

Marriage—Monogamy type of marriage is fairly common, but polygamy though extremely rare is not altogether unknown. Thus common procedures are adopted for marriage, viz., here we see marriage by negotiation (Kendia), marriage by capture (Ghichola) and love marriage. The latter two occur rarely.

Kinship

Among Jungs kinship lies a important. The whole tribe is divided into as many as twelve exogamous clans named after birds and animals. Sometimes the entire village is found to be

Language

The Juangs generally talk in Oriya and among themselves use Mundari language.

CLASSIFICATION OF FOLKLORE

The definition on the basis of limited list of the forms of folklore indicates the classification of folklore in order to represent its content. However to complete the definition of folklore, all other forms are to be equally defined. So far as my materials regarding folklore obtained from the Juangs are concerned they can be classified under three heads such as —

Folk literature

Folk Art and

Folk Dance.

At the first sight, it may appear as the condensation of all the items suggested by various authors. The term "folk literature" is a synonym to the term "verbal art" as coined by William Bascom. Under this term he has included such items as folk-tales, myths, legends, folksong, proverbs, riddles etc. My study is no exception to this. But there are other forms of verbal art such as traditional folk speech, including practical jokes, blessings, curse etc., which are traditional and which pass through one generation to next. I have included all these in "folk literature". For the sake of better representation all these items have been further classified.

Most of the authors have described primitive art as graphic and plastic art in combining whole. In describing the Juang art I have not made any sharp distinction between the two. Graphic art includes painting and linear drawing on a plane object, and plastic art includes statues, sculptures, engravings, carvings etc. So far the Juang art materials are concerned they cannot be classified with such distinction. For example, there are many instances of linear engravings present in house posts, wooden doors etc. Thus the Juang art is classified not on this basis. The classification of the Juang folklore is better expressed in the following diagrammatic representation.

(A) Folk Literature

The folk literature is the literary activities of a folk. It cannot be equated with the literature of our conception. The Juang literature is a spoken one and it is not in any written form. So far as language is concerned the Juangs have much

resemblance with the Mundari language. Most of the materials of their folk literature are spoken in Oriya, especially what Dr. V. Elwin has suggested as "bastard Oriya" language. The literary activities of the people are not altogether accepted as folk literature, it at times an artistic expression of the tribal thought passing down from generation to generation.

The origin of their folk literature is exactly the same causing the origin of folklore. A Juang man maintains flexibility in course of his everyday life—in collection of food, in hunting and in shifting cultivation. The thoughts and emotions caused out of these activities are revealed in a certain artistic frame work. Thus it is obvious to think that the composer of a poem, the narrator of a story, the reciter of riddles and proverbs have little or no headache as to whether their productions maintain any theoretical ordering. We can only expect from their unrhymical, unartistic (not so artistic) and prosaic verbal art, the description of folk life patched with their feeling, emotion, mental agony and frustration and happy moments of the Changu dance, the marriage dance and merry-making at the Karans puga. Materials collected so far can be classified in the following manner.

(i) Folk-tale

(ii) Myth

(iii) Legend

(iv) Folk song

(v) Riddle

(vi) Proverbs

(vii) Folk speech

Again, all these items of literature can be further put under two major heads such as,

The primitive prose and

The primitive poetry

The three major items such as folk-tale, myth and legends are the components of the Juang prose order. These three contents are essentially stories. The basic interrogatives of all languages that is, the "whomness", "whatness", "where-ness" and "whenness" of things are very well reflected in these stories and these are explained in the simplest manner. They tell us what happened, where and when, and most of the narrations have been placed on this simple and anecdotal plan. These stories as a whole, usually less

structured and less demanding have very little "poetic" —from the modern literary point of view. But the social significance embodied in these stories is not lost. In addition to stories which mostly occur in the prose order of the Juang, there are also folk-wit and folk speech which can be conveniently placed under the head. Under folk poetry includes three important forms such as folksong, riddles and proverbs. These folk-poetry are not produced here as it is to be appeared in the Banaphut Journal of Orissa by this author.

(1) Folk-tales—Folk-tales are often confused with myth and legends and most of the scholars in this respect have not given the definition of folk tale as a distinguished one from the other two. Most of the authors including Roch Benedict have defined folk-tales which includes myth and legends and fairy tales. However to include myth and legend under the title "folk-tale" is a serious misunderstanding and there are several criteria according to which folk tale can be distinguished from myth and legend. In a broader sense these three can be congregated under a common name i. e., folk-tale, so far as they are regarded as stories and so far as they note the characters of a story such as plot, incident, conflict, climax, motivation, and character development. Thus folk-tale in its wider sense can include myth and legend but as we will see there are more than one reason which distinguish it from the two.

Thus folk tale is the story of the group of people more or less primitive in nature and is characterised by oral transmission from generation to generation. Folk tales have their roots in the folk art, when man acquired the power of articulate expression. He proudly gave out his heroic feelings in case of hunting. He used his rich imaginative faculty to express his inner world and the things which took the shape of a

the most interest (as in case of myth and legends). Thus a traditional folk tale presents the mixture of both the elements of imagination and reality and fantasy.

G. S. Kirk has given a preliminary definition of folk tale. According to him, "folk tales are the traditions to which no firmly established form, in which superfluous elements are excluded, they are not primarily concerned with the serious subjects of reflection, they avoid problems and preoccupation, and they are appealing in their narrative style."

The Juang folk-tales can be best described in the light of this definition. Juang folk tales are not titled. It means that they can interpret the story well without knowing the title. Most Juang folk tales are told about certain things. "But these certain things or objects are not the real titles of the story. For my own purpose I have given the title of the stories mostly based on the understanding of the Juang folk or what the story is told about. Most of the primitive folk tales are fables. Even these fables are present in almost all the cultures. But there is no fable in the folk tales of the Juang. Although I have extracted one story titled as "the story of brother monkey" it cannot be regarded as a fable in the true sense of the term. Though it contains the fabulous character it speaks of no moral (which a fable must contain), and where the monkey talks with man and not with animals which are generally dumb. In this respect it has very less possibility of becoming a fable, and besides, "one Willow does not make a summer". According to the characteristic they exhibit the Juang folk tales can be classified into two categories, such as—

- * The stories having no poetic elements and the stories.
- * Having poetic element in the form of verses or proverbs.

Under the first category the following two stories can be included.

THE STORY OF KING KANAK'S DAUGHTER

This story of King Kanak's daughter is centered round his wife's character of a goddess. Here the prince his husband makes the aspect of her character in the guise of a bigger aspect of this he marries her and brings out the dark side of his character which compels her to commit suicide. The Juang used to describe the story like this.

A certain king was once riding through a forest route in search of a beautiful girl (bride) for his young son. Another king, named 'Keruk' was in quest of a handsome bridegroom in order to give his daughter in marriage. Both the kings chanced to meet each other along the same route and took decision. As the bride and bridegroom were too small to marry, they postponed their wedding awaiting the proper time. After some days the old father of the would-be bride died. Time passed on. His son

look the throne as he attained his youth. His mother told him about the betrothal between his late father and the king Kanaka. The prince wanted to go to his father-in-law's house in order to see his supposed wife. His mother told him the way to king Kanak's palace. The prince, in order to test the charity of the princess, went in disguise as a beggar. Underneath the ragged clothes of a beggar he put on a shirt of skin. He reached the palace of the king and gave his recognition as a beggar.

The king, out of compassion provided him with a room and made a provision of ordinary subsistence. At nightfall his dwelling was dark. He shot on a rope which was stretched from head to foot. He took it to be the snare of two distinct voices. At the end of the night, he could guess that the two persons were a princess and the general of the king. They were playing dice and were engaged in money-making. After some time they noticed the presence of a beggar on the door and so immediately put off the light, supposing that he might not recognise them in the dark. But as soon as the prince uncovered his face from the blanket his golden teeth shined in the wholly dark room and as a result both of them could not hide their identity from the beggar. Thereafter the prince brought a false recognition against the beggar stating that he was a wealthy man trying to kidnap her in that dark night. The king believed her and in his mad rage ordered his minister to kill the beggar at once and to show him his blood. The Minister took him to the forest to do this. The prince cleverly hid a horn with Rs. 40 which he had earned in his shirt of skin. He followed. Then the Minister killed a bird and covered its blood to the king and the king was satisfied. The prince returned home. He sent a messenger to Kanak Rani with the message that he was coming to marry in a daughter as per the wishes of his deceased father. The king immediately agreed and fixed the nuptials. The prince accompanied by his Minister's possessions in a procession arrived there. King Kanak received the prince as he disappointed the elephant. After the marriage the bride and the bird goddess came to the palace of the prince. At night they met. The prince related a story to his newly wed princess and she listened to it with great attention. It was the story of the adventures of a prince during which he was acting as a beggar. In course of his narration the princess fully understood that it was the sad tale of his own illicit relation with the general

and the beggar was none but her husband. She could bear no more. She woke up abruptly from her bed and in the pretext of going outside the room to answer the call of nature she went by the bamboo bush behind the house.

And by means of a rope she committed suicide.

THE STORY OF A SADHAB'S SON

The story of Sadhab's son is another folk tale of this category. It tells about a mischievous son who got back his life through the miracles of a "Rushputra". The story runs as under:

There was the son of a rich merchant. He was the only son. Once his parents asked a fortune-teller about the longevity of their son. It was found that he would survive only for two months more. The son heard this and with a vast amount of wealth he left home. He distributed all the money among his friends. In the way he met a "Rushputra" who was sitting on a tree-bill. The "Rushputra" as soon as he caught sight of the merchant's son, shouted "O son of a rich man, do not die! The merchant's son was surprised at the pronouncement of the "Rushputra" and enquired to save him who had been doomed to die within two months. The "Rushputra" said, "Bring a copper coin which you have taken from the pocket of the paper and then go to the 'Cuma' Lord Yama." So the son did as he was told and did but the Lord Yama said, "Why are you come here? I am a 'Yama' deity's boy. The 'Rushputra' was very angry with the boy and said, "He has taken a life from me. I have sent a messenger to his home in order to bring him. After he uttered these words, he was blind and was lost in some troupe. Taking advantage of his absent-mindedness the "Rushputra" enhanced the longevity of the merchant's son by 40 years more, meeting him in Yama's realm. But lay in wait. The "Rushputra" then drew his attention to the paper and the Yama exclaimed, "Oh, how I forgot this! This 'Yama' begged justice for the untimely death of the merchant's son and released him. The merchant's son and the "Rushputra" returned. But on the way when he looked back the "Rushputra" had disappeared. The merchant's son reached home and saw his parents weeping bitterly at the loss of their son. Having seen their son come, their joys knew no bounds.

THE STORY OF THE SECOND CATEGORY

The essence of this type of story is that it contains small poems, proverbs etc. in course of narration. The important dialogues that are exchanged between the characters are often in the form of songs. The following are the two stories of this type.

THE STORY OF SHAHADABAT

There was a merchant (Sadhoo) who had six sons and two daughters. The two daughters were named as Meera and Ferus. All except the youngest one got married (by means of Chichhu). The merchant went on searching for a beautiful bride for his son but could not find. Then his son set on a journey for the same purpose carrying rice and dal (pulses) in a bag with him. One day while he was cooking under a tree he saw a beautiful lady appearing in a Shahada tree just by the river side. The young man returned and said to his father that he wanted to marry the Shahada tree. But what will you do by marrying a Shahada tree? The old man asked him in utter astonishment. He replied that he had seen a handsome lady living in that tree. The servants of the merchant cut down the tree, and the marriage took place between the young merchant and the top of Shahada tree. After the marriage his eldest brother decided to observe as to how a Shahada tree could cook and serve them. In order to have a keen observation, one of them kept himself awake to watch the activity of the fog bride. But as he was taking a short rest he fell fast asleep. Shahadabat came out of the fog. She sneezed that floor of the house with crowding, cooked the rice and served foods to all including the brother, who at that time was asleep. At last she took her own food and then went back into the fog in a like manner the other three brothers too failed in their endeavour to observe the activities of the fog-bride. At last it was the eldest brother's turn who unlike others did not sleep. Shahadabat thought, 'As he is not at a sleeping. What shall I do?' and therefore she was compelled to come outside to do her duty. The eldest son saw her, and remarked that she was rather more beautiful than any of their wives. Then the four brothers grew impatient to have a look of her and were seeking for a chance. One of their king named Haza arranged a party and made it known to all. In the night Shahadabat came out of the fog to witness the party. Taking

this opportunity the other brothers burnt the fog with kerosene and ultimately she became house-less. While she was sadly looking at her burnt Shahada house she was glaced by a servant of the king Haza. The king's good was informed of the great beauty of Shahadabat and he planned to have her very soon. He ordered all the six sons of the Sadhu to go abroad for trade and commerce. The youngest son went to his father and requested him to take the utmost care of his wife as the king had cast his evil eye on her. He also warned his wife not to go to the river to bath and advised her to utilize the water of their well in the compound.

His request embodying the advice in the Jueng language is composed in a stanza which depicts the pangs of a lover for his beloved, especially when he was compelled to leave and her safety was at stake. The stanza runs as under:

T i a h o n e b b i n b u n h e n t e
S t h u m e n t a n a w i l d e b a l e h o m e
B a d p a h o a d e k u l d e b a l e h u a n e
S e r n s h a n e k u n b e b a l e h u a n t a
N e s e n g h a n a j a b e b a l e h u a n t a
H a t a R a j e r a a c h e b a l e h u a n t a
H a t a f a g a n e b a i o b a l e h u a n t a

1. Meera

Can I request you O-h my dear father
To take care of my wife
In my absence?
The well is in our deeksyid
There will see take her bath
Never should she go to a river or a lake
The servants of the king Haza
Are watching
He can take her
By playing the taut (by playing heart)

His father having heard this song advised her to go to his mother and request her to be vigilant. He repeated the same song before her mother and she advised him to go to his two sisters, who could take better care than all. And her sisters too accepted his request. The young merchant left Shahadabat and started for abroad.

As soon as they left the king made on all out effort to fulfil his evil desire. The servants of the king threw some mud in the water of the well and ultimately the polluted well was rendered useless. Shahadabat went to Meera

and Ferus and told them to accompany her to the river to take bath. They reminded her of the warning that their brother had given. But however they had to go to the river for the well water was of no avail, being muddy. In the river they saw a diamond fruit (Fig fruit) and on enquiry Shahadebat was told that the contents of the fruit were only seeds. At the risk of these hair follicles (a) into water which she brought to keep inside the fruit lest it might be taken by cows and buffaloes, but misfortune would have it the fruit came to the noods of the king who was also taking bath down the stream. He found a long hair follicle kept inside. Being curious about such long hair he came to know from his servants that it belonged to Shahadebat. While they were returning king Hada met them and demanded fare from them. They had no money at the time. She offered to give her legging. But the king refused to take that, as it was meant for her legs. She went on offering all other ornaments on her body and finally she offered to give any one of the sister-in-law Maria and Ferus. But the king remained resolute. At last she said

"Oh what shall I do,

Take me on your elephant"

No sooner did she utter this than the king took her Maria and Ferus reported to their parents under what circumstances their sister-in-law had been kidnapped. Their parents consoled them to take up the matter after return of their brothers.

The six trading merchants returned and were welcome by their wives. As the youngest son was about to present his wife with the 'sirimmbi' (a beautiful sari) and a Panik (kitchen knife)-his predeceases, he learned the tragic loss of his wife and much bemoaned it. In his desperation and disheartenment he tore off the beautiful sari into a Kantha (sarp) and converted the kitchen knife into a knife, made a whip with the materials of a bow and himself took up a Sarangi (harp) and went on singing —

"I made 'sirimmbi' sari" into a nap,

The bowel into a whip,

The panik into a knife,

And I become a Yogi only for Shahadebat"

The king came to know the eloquence of his music through his servant. While he was passing the king invited him to his place

With much reluctance he went and sang the song. When the king asked him to accept the alms of rice and dal he insisted that he would be very happy if it was given by the queen. He requested him to sing once again and he sang the same song. While the queen extended her hand with a handful of rice the young merchant in the guise of a Yogi, slew himself with the knife (prepared out of panik) in front of the queen who was none but his beautiful Shahadebat. Hada, the king, ordered the funeral ceremony of the dead in the cremation ground. At this moment Shahadebat requested the king to allow her to accompany the king to the cremation ground as she had never been at the funeral of a Yogi. The king granted her request and both went to cremation ground on an elephant. Whenever the elephant was making delay the queen used to sing —

"Chai chai chai re hadi

Yogi pada saribati"

(Go quickly elephant go

Let the cremation of the Yogi might be over)

At last they reached the cremation ground. While the king was unmindful the queen jumped into the funeral pyre of the Yogi. Seeing this the king also jumped into the fire out of grief. Now the other queens who against the provocative action of the king and they uttered

"The man died for the Yogi

What fault had queen Mandodari"

Meanwhile Svar and Parvat were passing through that way. Seeing the sorrowful situation they blessed the Yogi and Yogi (Shahadebat) with their lives.

THE STORY OF BROTHER MONKEY

There was an old merchant. He and his wife used to dig out Belings and Tunga (the root) in the forest and lived on them. They had one son and so it was a contented family. One day monkey seller came by their house. The merchant and his wife were not at home. Their son bought one of the monkeys in exchange of some rice. The merchant came home and did not find his rice. He got angry with his son as he had exchanged his hard-earned grist for a mere monkey. "Let's come to the forest" he said to his son. And in the forest he killed

his son. When he reached his home, the monkey asked —

"Where's my brother?"

"He has gone to the river side to take bath

"But it is too late, what is the matter?"

The monkey doubted and the merchant regretted nothing. The monkey was tied with an iron chain, and having broken it, he released himself and went straight to the young merchant who was lying dead in the forest. He brought him back to life. They decided not to go back home. The monkey said "Better we will build a house in the forest." And they made a house. Then the monkey said now we have made a house in the forest. What shall we do next? Decide now."

"Now I am going to bring a goat," said the monkey and then he brought a goat too. After this he brought a cow. Again he went out of the forest to fetch some more valuable commodities. He saw some cartmen coming towards him with their bullock carts loaded with bags of rice. The monkey hid upon a plan. He lay in front of the bullock carts having closed his eyes, and pretended as if he were dead. Out of compassion and pity the cartmen stared at the monkey and at this time the monkey threw a handful of dirt into their eyes and they lost their vision. They left the cart there and went away. The monkey then drove the cart home and kept the bullocks in the cow-house. Thus he and his friend lived happily. One day they decided to bring a bride (for the merchant's son). There was a tree near the steps of a bathing ghat. The monkey climbed up the tree and from there he observed a suitable bride among those who were coming to take their bath. She was the daughter of a merchant who had twelve sons and twelve daughters-in-law. As she reached the bank she putted her ornaments on the step leading into the river. The monkey took away her "Jhumka Kaudi Pipra Gobiyaas (various ornaments) and climbed up the tree. The merchant's daughter finished her bath but forgot to think about her ornaments. "Where are your ornaments?" her mother asked. She requested her mother to go and bring back her ornaments. But she refused to go. She herself went to the river again, but could not find the ornaments. She saw the reflection of the monkey with the ornaments in the water. Then she begged of the monkey all her ornaments in these words:

Dinging Dinging Sama Kaha,

Gobivande dinging

Dinging Dinging Sama Kaha,

Pasa Jampa dinging

Dinging Dinging Sama Kaha

Pansatik dinging Kaudi)

Then the monkey said:

Gengalo garga Samiladar

Gobanis gangang

Gengalo garga Samiladar

Pitchaupati gangang

Gengalo garga Samiladar

Basant Ke gangang

She begged her each of the ornaments by saying — "Give me my Gobivanka, Pitcha-pati, Basant — each for one na. And then the monkey said — "Come, come and take your such and such ornaments." The monkey then climbed down the tree and proceeded towards the merchant's daughter and the merchant's daughter also proceeded towards the monkey. In order to get back the ornaments. At last the monkey caught the hand of the merchant's daughter and took her into the forest in order to give her in marriage with the merchant's son. They married and lived happily with the brother monkey.

These are the folk tales. Like other stories they possess characters, namely prince, princess, merchants and monkey etc. Playing as hero, heroine and like the other stories it is developed, under a definite plot, reaches its climax and then meets the usual end. Except the first one, all other folk tales which have mentioned have a happy ending. In case of the former it has a tragic end, followed by the suicide of the princess.

(ii) "MYTHS OF THE JANGS"

Meaning

Myths constitute an important part of the prose order of the Folklore. The term myth is derived from the Greek word "Mythos" just meant a tale, a story or the plot of a play. Sometimes it is substituted for fable and legend. It is an invented story containing the plot on primitive faith on supernatural, and imaginary portions of things.

The term "mythology" was first used by Plato who meant it as not more than telling stories. To describe the young myths it is

necessary to distinguish itself from Folk stories and legends which are often confused with the myth. Myths legends and folk stories are similar as all of them present the story elements such as plot, incidents, conflict, climax, motivation and character development. But myth is not legend as the former is not historically true and not folk stories as it mainly centres round mythological character i.e. gods and goddesses.

Myth is the interpretation of natural and cultural phenomenon in a possible limited manner. It is believed to be a fact, though it is not, it justifies the present. Myth is treated as religious phenomenon as it describes the doings and undoings of 'gods and goddesses'. It is the product of intellectual thoughts of folk mind and therefore considered to be the primitive philosophy. Again, it describes the origin of nature and cosmic bodies.

The Juang myths can be best understood in the light of above description. For the purpose of presentation I have classified these various myths into two categories—

- (1) Functional myths
- (2) Cosmogonic myths

Functional myths

The functional myths are mainly concerned with every day life of the Juangs. They justify their customs behaviour and origin of their social activities such as food habits, dress pattern, youth dormitory and dance, etc. Under this category the following myths can be enumerated:

(1) *Myth on use of tooth twig*—The first and foremost function is that Juang performs in a day is to clean his teeth with tooth twig. The myth goes to Mahadev who after making two dolls representing Juang male and female gave them life through Mahaprabhu (The Vishnu, Afterwards Parvat demanded food for the two dolls, who had got life. Mahadev took two twigs and put them in their mouths. This did not satisfy Parvat and she requested to give them grains. On the request of Parvat Mahaprabhu appealed to Laxmi who created grains. But they (Juangs) still kept the twigs and every day put them in their mouth. So that they can get enough to eat etc.

(2) *On shifting cultivation*—The major activities of the Juangs are concerned with shifting cultivation. But I could not get any myth regarding this. In the village Panasenasa I noted something on shifting cultivation. It is rather a belief. Baeudev once said to the Juangs that the male Juangs should make shifting cultivation and females should make patia (a type of mat prepared out of grasspalm leaves) in order to survive. From that day onwards they have been making shifting cultivation and females making patias.

(3) *On food of the Juangs*—Juangs own tradition is that they are omnivorous. The myth concerning this is peculiar one. It is said that Rau Uriha (Juangs' witch doctor) are all the six servants who were sent by Dharma Devata (the supreme God) by the application of this witch-craft and denied when Dharma Devata made an enquiry on this. Then he asked Rau Uriha to open his mouth and there was a hair (Shunka) growing on his tongue. Rau Uriha then realised his sin and sincerely requested Dharma Devata to make his tongue free of hair. Dharma Devata tried to remove the hair but it could not be removed. He gave Rau Uriha a hog to eat but the hair remained as it was. Subsequently he was given fish, snake, crab, tiger and bear—every thing to eat, but the hair did not come out. Finally he gave him a hairy caterpillar and the hair came out. Dharma Devata said—"since you have eaten every thing, you will take into your mouth anything you get." Since then they are taking everything.

(4) *On Leaf Dress*—Dharma Devata gave "Rashu Putra" (i.e. Juangs) clothes to wear. Once they were busy on plastering the floors with cow dung and therefore, their clothes turned dirty. They put the clothes outside and wearing leaves round their waist started their work. Dharma Devata saw this and cursed them to wear leaves for ever.

Again from the Dehuri (the priest) of Baruda village I came to know what happened when a man put on clothes instead of leaf-dress. He said when he went to the jungle wearing clothes, he was killed by the tiger. So they had given up the use of clothes."

* The present paper is an attempt to describe Juang myths including Kancher district of Orissa. The location of the villages of Kancher district of Kancher district.

* Rashu Putra: The Juangs belief themselves to be descended of a Brahmin and Rashu (the wife of Rashu).

of the Juangs one of the most primitive tribes of India. Their study was one month and confined to Southern part of Orissa. Therefore, they are sons and daughters

(5) *Creation of the Juang Dance*—Rusi and Russian lived with their children. But as the children grew older, it was inconvenient for them to sleep at night in one room. So Rusi made another room for his children. But at the night the children disturbed them. Rusi taught them the art of dance. Since then the Juangs started dancing.

Cosmogonic Myths

Cosmogonic Myths of my classification explain the origin and the interpretation of the cosmic phenomenon such as the creation of the sun, the moon, the earth, the water, the lightning and thunder etc.

(6) *Creation of the Universe*—From the very beginning (Berusu) the earth (Msi Prithi) was not steady. Ohama Devata made it possible by sacrificing the son of Rusi. The myth runs like this. All the Gods went to Rusi for his son and in exchange they offered him two sons. But Russian the wife of Rusi was reluctant to give her son for sacrifice. Again she armed her son with an iron bow and arrow, lest he might be killed by the tiger. Once, when the boy was bathing putting off the iron bow and arrow on the bank a tiger killed the boy while he was unarmed. Gods came, they swung the boy round and round, blood oozed out from his body in all directions and was sprinkled every where to make the earth steady. From his hands and feet came the hills and from his hair grew the forest. Rusi had again twelve sons and daughters and through them the Juangs came into the world.

(7) *Creation of Water (Lalok)*—At the very beginning there was no water in the world. The Rusi Pupas once felt thirsty in the jungle, where they had gone hunting and as per the prior assurance of their mother the youngest one uttering her name lifted a stone and found water under lying it.

(8) *Creation of Fire (Lala)*—At first there was no fire. Men ate their food raw. Rusi and Russian went to find fire and in the jungle when they broke a tree, fire came out of it.

(9) *Creation of Sun and Moon (Sera & Lerang)*—Sera and Lerang (Sun and Moon, respectively) were co-wives of Ohama Devata. Their relationship was not good. The Moon killed at the children of sun, and kept her own children in the platform just beneath the roof.

At night she spared them and they spread over the sky as stars (Kanan Dek). The sharp enmity between Sun and Moon made them not to meet at any time and therefore Sun appears in the day and Moon at night. This dichotomous forms resulted in the day and night.

(10) *Creation of thunder and lightning (Baras)*—Indra married the daughter of Sun. His head and body were so big that the girl ran away from him. Every now and then she looked and laughed at him. The flaking of her teeth is the lightning. Indra gets angry and beat her. The sound of his blows is thunder.

(11) *Creation of Stars (Kanan Dek)*—This is another myth regarding the creation of falling star. The Juangs believe that when a star is hanged his soul (Misan) goes to Maha Prabhu with a loud round is wick. But Mahaprabhu rebukes him and he falls down. Thus he is turned into a Ghost and can be seen as a falling star.

(III) LEGEND

Myth and Legends fall in the same category. One of the chief characters as distinguished from myth and folk tale is that it is believed to be historically true. Legend implies an exaggerated and colourful account of an event. The historical importance is not its reality and we cannot make history relying upon these legends. Therefore it is generally disbelieved by historians.

Legend according to many folklorists is a traditional oral narrative regarded as true by its teller and by many members of the society in which it circulates but, containing remarkable or supernatural elements that follow a pattern. There is a very little difference between myth and legend. Many authors, including Richard M. Dorson, have opted that myth leads into a world of reality and legends into world of fantasy. However this may not be true for almost all the myths are fantastic in nature. Again, legends do not entirely deal with the fantastical world. It has a greater concern with persons, places and events. Because they purport to history and fact they must be associated in the mind of the community with some known individual, geographical land mark, or particular episode. Many or all of the members of a given social group will have heard of the tradition and can recall it in brief or in an elaborate form.

Richard M. Denson divided the legends into three kinds. The personal legend may deal with nationally famous statements, an obscure eccentric, a celebrated buffay or a high society wit. Again it is divided into heroic legend i.e., recounting the extraordinary feats of a superman and the anecdotal legend, repeating the clever sayings and odd actions of a comical man. The second kind of legend is a sort of place legend connected with a locality rather than with a person. The story behind a haunted house or a haunted spot is such a legend. The third type of legend is also connected with persons and places but their interest focusses on an action or a deed that excites the community.

Using legends so far collected falls into these three categories such as, place legend, heroic legend and anecdotal legend.

Place Legend—Regarding the question how the place Baratan came into existence, there is a place legend. There were some Rakputras. They used to go to the forest every day. Once they felt hungry, there was nothing to eat. They could find only a cow. They ate its flesh and buried its head. The Rasi asked them about their food. They answered that they had taken the flesh of a Sambar, having killed it. The Rasi came to know the truth some how and asked them if that was so. Then the Rasi said that water should come out of the nostrils of the cow and it immediately happened so. Then the mountain from where the water flowed out was named as "Gongsika" (Go-cow, Nasika-nostrils) and the stream was known as Baratan. The Gongsika hill is a sacred place for the Juangs.

There is another legend of this category concerning the place "Gupta Ganga". It is connected with the first legend. As the mountain Gongsika became impure due to the burial of the cow, the river had to stop there and again appeared at a place which is named as Gupta-ganga. The famous Brahmeswar temple is built there.

There is another place known as Rasi Tanager near Baruta village. The legend is rather incomplete and cannot be described as in a story. This place stood as the play ground of the Rasi putras in the past.

The second type of legend has been divided into two kinds, the heroic legends and anecdotal legends.

Heroic Legend—The legend regarding the origin of king is rather a fantastic one. While they were in search of a Raja, they saw a boy with monkey hands and legs and the face of a pig. They brought it and made him their Raja. It was a custom with the Juang that a married lady should be enjoyed by the king first before she goes to her husband. Once the Juang demanded some presents from the king and he refused the reward. This resulted in a great humiliation among them, and they planned to kill him and not supplying him water from any stream. The king came to know it soon. He was scared and thought of escaping. While running away he was caught by an one-eyed person. Thus they killed their king. Then they selected an ivory tree as their king. But the tree did not talk and so they broke it into pieces. Then they searched for a king. The prince of Mayurbanj at that time was hunting in the forest. They stole and declared him their king.

Anecdotal Legend—The following two are the other types of legends (Anecdotes) displaying the intelligence of a person.

(i) The five fingers were five brothers. On one occasion a person had to discharge a 'Namaskar' by folding his two hands. Then there occurred a quarrel among the five fingers as to who would be the greatest of all. The thumb claimed its position saying that at least it touches the chin of the person. The forefinger when folded, touches the nose of the person. Therefore he claimed that he was great. Likewise, the middle finger being the tallest of all demanded his superiority. Similarly the other fingers quarrelled for this position. Then they went to that person the owner who had given namaskar to decide their quarrel.

"Who is the greatest of us?" they asked.

—"Certainly the little finger" the wise man replied.

—"How?" they enquired.

He explained, "at the time of discharging namaskar the little finger is seen first by the person who receives."

(ii) There is also another legend concerning the intelligence of a girl. The legend is like this.

Once there was a poor man who had no son but a daughter who was very intelligent. The man had borrowed some money from a Mahajan.

(a money lender) and it remained unpaid. As the Mahajan did not receive any payment, one day he came and the old man was absent. His daughter was there.

"Where is your father?"

He has gone to mix soil with soil."

"Where is your mother?"

"She has gone to produce two out of one."

"What are you doing?"

"—I am cooking the son, by burning the mother."

The Mahajan said, "I do not follow your answer. Please make me understand." She explained that a man had died in their village. Her father had gone to bury his corpse. A man is a product of the earth. It gets lost in the earth again after death. Her mother had gone to grind "Harad" (a pulse) in the grinding process one hard gram it divided into two halves and so she had gone to make two out of one. Again "Harad plant" is the mother of "Harad". She was preparing hard dal (son) by using the dried bean (mother) as fuel.

The Mahajan was pleased with the answer and did not ask for money.

(A) RIDDLES

The primitive intelligence: the extent of application of their reason in exercising intellectual activities can be best marked in the riddle. A riddle is a puzzling question. It is the obscured description of some thing which the hearer is asked to find out. W. H. Jansen has defined it as

"A riddle is a question, direct or indirect, complete or incomplete, in traditional form, whereby the questioner challenges a listener to recognize and identify the accuracy, the unit, the truth, in a statement that usually seems implausible or self-contradictory but that is true in its own peculiar light."

F. O. Beacher has described riddle as the major form of folklore and has described its logical patterns. According to her, for example, one type of folkloristic structure, simply a statement as a pattern of contradiction in which the second, of a pair of elements denies a logical or natural attribute of the first. The contradictions occur because it is apparently impossible to have

A without B, where B is a logical attribute of A. The Juang riddle can provide a concrete example of the riddle concerning "pome's wheat". It is described as something which "lays eggs at 18 (eighteen) types but not a bird". Thus the capacity of laying eggs, is the logical attribute of a bird which is denied in this riddle. There are many examples of this type in the Juang society as Beacher has found in the Bantu society. But in addition to this type there is also another type which carries a chain of such propositions having a common name and justifying all. Next type of riddle, common to all cultures is the obscure description of certain things.

The Juang riddles are of two types as—

Riddles of structure, (dichotomies found in propositions)

-Riddles of description (often obscure in nature)

Riddle of structure—This can again be classified in two types such as Riddles containing one self-contradictory propositions and Riddles containing more than one self-contradictory propositions, i. e., in a chain. The following is the example of a Riddle containing one self-contradictory proposition—

Gute relaxk,

mona tundi

Meaning—One lady with three breasts

Answer—Hearth

This is only one member of the first order of riddles. Here a woman cannot think of having three breasts. Thus the natural and logical property of a woman (in the first line) is denied by describing her with three breasts (in the second line)

The following are a few examples of Riddles containing more than one contradictory propositions

Aikan nai: haigensi

Barada nai: singh dhot,

Daadi nai: pada kabars

Maharan: pua cheluchhi bats

Meaning—What is that which has two horns, but is not a bullock, it has a door to be closed, but has no rope to attach, can walk majestically, but it is not the son of a merchant

Answer—Pills (Snail)

Thus it contains a chain of self-contradictory propositions.

Kan karat kan karat
Pokhar badare karuchh nata
Nubun pakhe padar dim Atharjan

Meaning—It sounds 'kan' It dances along the margin of a pool. It is not a bird, but lays eggs of eighteen types. It always visits the ocean.

Answer—Potter's wheel

It is the potter's wheel. The eggs are referred to different types of potteries which bear water and that are related to pool and ocean.

Riddles of description—The following are a few examples of this category.

Eda kut mankada
Shankh mare chasada

Meaning—It is a small monkey who escapes the ground.

Answer—Spade

Chops tate
Manya kate

Meaning—Its skin is hard, but the core is tender.

Answer—A grain, harder than rice
Ek parbat sar parbat
Majhura me a machha
Sita thamani kah pacharhit
Kou phalet kancha

Meaning—The first three lines convey no significant meaning in the understanding of the whole riddle. This riddle can be substituted for—'Which fruit is always green?'

Answer—The tongue of a man

Mila deaku chide ba
Janta beluki nai

Meaning—It cries more after death but never cries during the 'is' time.

Answer—Goat

The Changu is made of the skin of a goat. When the Changu is beaten it makes a high sound, so the goat's cry is compared to the musical sound of the Changu.

Gachha mya mya
Patar ara
Puar nama Gachha goru

Meaning—The tree is large, its leaves are thin. The name of the son (fruit) is Gachha goru (having large muscle-like structure).

Answer—Tamarind

Gone kape
Dau munda

Meaning—One snake with two heads.

Answer—Sica

It is a type of carrier of rope hung on both the sides of a pole. Luggages and goods are carried on shoulders with it.

Edakuti chadhai
Banya malse galipada
Mahapanaka juhar

Meaning—Small bud, often hides in the bamboo bush and seizes the sun by calling his name.

Answer—Hen

(v) PROVERB

Archer Tyler says, the definition of proverb is too difficult to repeat the undertaking. According to him and B. J. Whiting, the description of proverb is—'short, plain, common figurative ancient and true as good as any formal definition'. These authorities characterise proverb as 'saying' which 'summarises a situation and its own inevitable way passes some sort of judgement on it or characterises its essence'. The old definition—proverb is the wisdom of many and wit of one is also sharp and effective.

According to R. B. Browne, 'To the most credulous members of society proverbs and the proverbial expressions are the accumulated knowledge of the ages, the voice of the history they are tried and true and as such are pragmatic unassailable wisdom.'

A proverb is thus the product of a very interesting noesis and therefore it is spoken in the Jhang language as 'dibengo'. A few proverbs which I have collected are given below —

Kathari dundaru
Mata pinda,
Gharu chhuai
Mala dinda.

Meaning—The tree is of wood and the verandah is of soil. The husband bears children, and wife remains childless (unmarried).

Origin—There was an old man who used to cut trees in the forest. Once he saw some eggs of a bird. He proposed to watch them hatch. After some days, he saw some young birds hatch out of it. The father of the young ones was present only. Another day he saw the same thing and marked that their mother was always out of the nest in search of food. He marked the absence of the mother several times. It thus appeared to him to be very interesting.

Passing of the judgement on this—When the old man came back he related this interesting phenomenon to others in form of a couplet.

The occasion of use—In Juang society when a mother on certain occasion, leaves her duty to her husband, the proverb is recited to criticize her.

Thangma
Thanghi bhitare burusala
Burusala bhitare thangma
Thanghi bhitare burusala

Meaning—Here there are three words—Thanghi for the external cover, i.e., the hard upper covering of an egg. Burusala for the tender body portion of the hen. Bhitare—stands for inside. Thus the meaning is clear.

Origin—This is the wit of an unknown man of the Juang society. Once he broke a hen's egg. He was puzzled to think—whether the egg is for yolk or the yolk is for egg. Thus the idea that yolk would produce chicken and when grown up it could lay eggs which would again produce similar hens.

Passing the judgement—As he understood the phenomenon he composed this proverb.

The occasion of use—This can be used by two persons who are interdependent and when their needs are complementary.

(vii) FOLK SPEECH

Folk speeches are often in the manner of a prose which have been used by a folk from the remote part as common language to signify on certain occasions. It has no special form. It is the every day spoken language of the people. These are speeches in common language, used on special

occasions. Many of the folklores have included five or six items such as tacla, taents, curse, blessings, chants, practical jokes, oaths, insults, etc. in their revised definition of folklore. These can be very well put into the category of folk speech. In addition to these, greeting and festivity-taking formula, nicknaming, gestures, symbols, prayers, etc., can also be included under folk speech.

However, it is true to say, in each tribe the above mentioned forms of speech may not be present. The following forms of folk speech of the Juang can be mentioned—

1. Blessings
2. Curses or rebukes
3. Practical jokes
4. Traditional sayings on special occasions

Blessings—Blessings can be given while bride and bridegroom leave the parents of the bride. The bride offers 'olagi' to her parents at the time of leaving. They bless in the following speech:

Air kamare do
Aupe dengang do
Kam dam sakma
Dung dang yena dungara
Lendi dae
Dia masina

Meaning—"As you have been born a girl you must have to leave your parent's house and live in your mother-in-law's house. You should work hard there. Your husband is destined by God may be lame, deaf, blind or one-eyed, or whatever also, you must not come back to us. You must not allow our prestige to go down. Go and don't look back. May your life be prosperous and happy.

This is not the only kind of blessing. Blessings vary according to various situations. But all these are not traditional, one may bless according to his own will.

Curse (Rebukes)

The women are the best carrier of these traditional forms of rebuke. Rebukes are occasioned in several incidents. Generally they rebuke in this manner.

Jama isade
Kakuna isade
Mama ghiloteu.

Begha kha jingam
Babung kumka gungang

Meaning—

Let Yama take you
Let Kalkasa take you
You may die soon
Let a tiger kill you in the forest
Let a snake bite you

Practical Jokes

There are several occasions when practical jokes are used. They are enumerated below:—

Jokes between affinal brothers-in-law at the time of marriage. Jokes between two dancing groups (between unmarried boys and girls in course of dance).

Jokes between affinal brothers-in-law mostly occur in their activities during the marriage. They may take wine prior to marriage and all sorts of jokes are uttered in activities. Example of such jokes are showing *haladi* and *kajal* to each other. The bridegroom says to brother-in-law

I will take your sister today

—But your stomach will be full. I can very well take your younger sister (if present)

There can be jokes between sister-in-law and the bridegroom. In order to tease him they make the opening of the thalis (a pot prepared out of leaves) narrow while stirring rice and dal etc. They throw heads scented with water on the bridegroom. They offer *argi* as sticks to the bridegroom as tooth-brush to clean the teeth in the morning.

The Juang dancers often make dancing trips to their Bandhu villages. They have certain jokes during their counter with them. The male dancers protest them with dried rice cakes. They say—“Please put the skin of the goat (referring to *changu*)”. The girls take their presentation from their *changu*. The boys ask: How are you? Are you well here? They answer, “We are living in a *Sukukuk* condition.—Oh, no, you are looking strong and healthy. Taking fine rice and dal every day. The boys say: “But we are in a poor condition, we are very thin, eating tungs and beluga only” (two types of roots) the girls reply: “We have taken so many presentations for you, if you really like this, take it now or put it here, so that

we can take these when we return” the boys say. The girls reply: “We are really fond of these things, why don't we take?”

During their dance, the male dancers play jokes with them. They can utter many joking hints to the girls. Of course the girls cannot express their replies during the dance but they usually throw ash, cow-dung mixed with water, often put their legs on the other party.

After their dance the boys and girls converse in the following manner:

The boys start—

Let's come to jungle

—We do not know the art of messaging, Girls reply

—Come with us, we will teach you, boys say

They usually go to a secluded place near the village and talk with each other in the most respectable manner. At that time they can fondle their breasts with much fun.

The boys say—

—We have given you much trouble by being here for two days. Now we are leaving you. Please don't be angry

The girls reply

The village was beautiful due to your presence. Now it looks ugly. Before leaving them, the boys sing—

So du jua ka bundu ppa

Legkha anasa

Dulo buruna masar

The world is really related to unmarried girls and boys. Let's take leave of one another.

There are every day speeches which can be put under folk speech. For example the settlement of marriage in the Juang is followed by a procedure which contains certain kinds of speeches.

“Kandri” marriage is the predominant type of marriage. The marriage undergoes a definite procedure. The Kandri comes to the house of the bride with her people. The other people of the village ask them—

Sadaka gosikandi

Banka gosung

Banchore ja?

"Whether you are going to some other place along with your straight road or you are coming here for relaxation?"

They reply—

—We are merchants, we have come here just for a journey. They are invited to sit in the majang. They say we have come not on a journey to a bandhu house. Can you show us his home? Then they go to the bandhu's house and the speech goes on.

—Why have you come friends to my house?

We are merchants, travelling in search of a fine cucumber which (we hear) is growing in your house.

—But merchants are rich people and we are afraid of them.

Please go elsewhere.

—We have not come to buy pot and dishes. We only seek the beautiful cucumber (meaning the girl) that is growing in your house. Then if his girls' parents are willing they can sell their daughter regarding marriage.

After the montage, the parents of the bride will say to their bandhu about their daughter in the following manner:

"Look bandhu"

The daughter will with us until now. Neither she was (Deli) (Kongkani nor Kango) greedy of food) nor (Dahan) (with) no (Choru) (that). Take her bandhu. Whether she is dirty deaf mad, or hunch back she is ours."

And the bandhu takes her and says "Whether she may be this or that."

(C) JUANG FOLK ART

Juang graphic and plastic art includes the following:

1. Carving and engraving
2. Clay modelling
3. Paintings made or made
4. Weaving pattern in pots and baskets
5. Tattooing
6. Personal ornaments

Carving & Engraving

There is a little difference between carving and engraving. These are mainly found on the wooden objects. No stone or metal carving is marked in any of the villages. The Juang artists in case of carving and engraving are more regarded as the carpenter-craft artist.

The Juang art can be classified under the following headings:

- (i) Designs carved on pillars of the Majang
- (ii) Engravings on the roof post
- (iii) Carving in the wooden doors
- (iv) Carving on the comb

Designs Carved on Pillars of Majang

The front side of the Majang is supported by various decorated pillars. The pillars of the Majang observed in the Panasonate and Befura villages are rich in grained materials and worthy of mention.

The pillars are six feet high and of one foot diameter. Not most of the pillars are less than six inches in diameter. The various decorations of pillars show some common designs. Design carved are mostly chevrons and zigzag lines followed by pointed surface with more than six loadings. Chevrons double on the pillars are triangle carved one after another covering the circumference of the pillar. These are one inch long each (on its two sides) and one inch long at its base and one inch deep or one inch broader than the surface. Again these chevrons may be present on single or double the within chevrons. In case of one line covering the circumference this is single and when two such lines are present close to each other it is double.

The chevron designs can be represented graphically in the following manner:



The foldings are frequently marked on almost every pillar. Sometimes these are accompanied by carving of petals of lotus flower. These are polished and smooth. These can be represented in the following way



Sometimes the pillars also consist of ball like structures. These ball like structure is sometimes more than two and are placed one upon another. They can be drawn as shown below



Again the lower part of most of the pillars is carved with 'hatching', which are oblique from the left. In some cases it may be between the angle and the double lined chevrons. The pattern is as drawn below



These are the common traits with which pillars are decorated

Engravings on the Beams of the house

The Majang beams are carved and engraved with various pictures. The figures of man, bird, flowers are always present in the beams of the Majang. The beams of the private houses are not decorated and most of the houses are without beams.

The front beams of the Majang of Baruds village are decorated with various objects. From the left it starts with carvings of lozenge shaped figures looking like an insect. According to the villagers it is the figure of a crab having eight legs on four sides. It is followed by the carvings of flower. The flower start with four concentric circle and the last circle bears six to nine petals which are sometimes 'U' shaped and there are also secondary petals on all these 'U' shaped petals.

The figure of man is carved with double lines. The body is somewhat triangular in shape. The palm of the hand is represented by a small rhombus out of which the fingers are carved. The neck is made by a small triangle. The body in totality shows the posture of a dancing man.

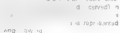
The beams are carved as such in every Juyang dormitory. In the case of the Majang of Panasanasa, beams are carved with flowers only and a wooden sculpture is present to support the roof of the beam.

Engravings of wooden doors

Engraved doors are found in almost all the villages. The common and chief characteristics of these engravings are given below. The wooden doors are carved mostly with the figures of flowers, zigzag lines forming the border line, and other natural figures such as elephant, bird, leaves, etc.

Boundary lines

Most of the boundaries of the wooden doors are decorative. They consist of minute triangles carved in a line. Sometimes (as in case of Shashdur Juyang's wooden door) there are double lines marked on every side of the door. And ultimately there are four squares on each corner of a door, produced as a result of the door from each side.





Intersection showing lozenges.

Flower

Two kinds of flowers can be distinguished. There are flowers exactly like one engraved on the beams. These are made by carving of concentric circles on which further concentric circles or semi-concentric circles (often 'U' shaped) are made to symbolize the petals. Another type of flowers consist of petals surrounded by a circle. The form of petals is exactly like that of a lily which is carved with a secondary line over it. Again, the circles surrounding these, consist of small triangles on them and leaves are carved out in between each two triangles. The following is the drawing pertaining to this design.



Flowers

Natural Figures

Natural figures consist mainly of birds, elephants and fishes. These figures are symbolic with an attempt to achieve reality, rather than geometric.

Carvings on comb, made of bamboo

The combs of the Juangs suits a style from the long past. Three types of combs have been mentioned by Dr V. Elwin. These are made by three rectangular bamboo pieces. Out of these, two are alike. Another piece (the real comb) is clamped between these two, by means of thread tied all over. One end of the single bamboo piece (the comb) is carved with figures of man by means of needles, and other end has the teeth of the comb. The figures carved on these combs are often geometric.

Sculpture

In Panasana village, I chanced to see the work of one Juang on a piece of wood. This cannot be called sculpture in the real sense. But it is different from all other forms of art in respect of its tendency to achieve a three dimensional form, and marks in the eyes and in the form of the body as a whole. It is made of a wooden plate with an approximate length, breadth and depth of one foot and six inches, ten inches and three inches respectively. The face is marked by the presence of eyes, nose and mouth. The neck is made by simply narrowing the plate below the face. It has no hands, legs are widely separated and are without feet. The nose and mouth are indicated by the carving of lines and eyes show engraving.

Clay Modelling

This is only one form that I found in Talaspa village made by a widow. Its size is very small, about eight inches only. There is no palm or feet. One leg is posed on the other, though not by a deliberate attempt as revealed by the artist. The eyes, nose and mouth are indicated by means of a stick produced out of a coconut leaf. The hands are in the normal position. The whole body is fixed on the ending of the wall, extreme end nearest to the lower part of the door.

Graphic figures on paper

Surie Juang of Tala Panasana village is said to be a pioneer artist who has attempted to reveal his art in the pencil and paper. His art on the paper reveals the figures of birds, Jack-fruit tree with fruits hanging down, elephant and scenery depicting a stream flowing down the hill. The figures are childish because they fail to achieve reality. The mouth of the elephant and the pattern in which the feathers of a bird are painted, show a high tendency towards reality. The figures of the comb, are the most realistic and very well depict the pattern of tying the threads.

In respect of weaving pattern there is no change. It is followed by their tradition. The weaving pattern in patis is very general, and this pattern is found everywhere. Each patia consists of parts (small patias) usually six or nine in number. The breadth of the patia is determined by the size of the leaves of Khajur tree. The leaves are usually four to five inches

his elder brother and his daughter Soudamini did not dance with the others in the village nor did they were unable to pay the initiation fees or were not initiated, nor that they could dance and sing, but that Nete Souda did not allow them to dance, because he had an animosity with the villagers. Arjuna Jueng, the son of Javart Jueng of Barutu village also did not dance as he was a student residing in class seven.

During the dance, the participants are divided into two groups, one for the boys and one for the girls. On the other hand, the groups are chosen from each sex to dance. There is no fixed one one ratio between the boys and girls to dance. I have found for a number of times in villages like Asiding, Gonsok, B. Panasanga the dance being participated between six to eight boys with two or three girls and vice versa. In the village level there may be dance consisting of the boys and girls of the village.

Following the performance of a dance with brechu participants such as jolting, communal mingling, etc., do not take place when the dance is limited to the same village. The Jueng have several clans and each village is a typical of the form of marriage strictly developed by descent (made by bandhu dancer) is strictly prohibited among them, as they belong to same kumbh (clan).

The youth and young girls from the village go to the bandhu village to dance and sing. The boys take presentation to the girls and are welcomed to dance and sing. They may remain in the village for over two nights, working in fields, cutting woods in the daytime and dancing in the night. Girls can also make a visit to the village where the boys are dancing.

Amongst the Jueng there is no hard and fast rule regarding the time of dance. But night is considered to be suitable to become more free to enjoy play and they do not like to dance in the day time. Their dance is performed in the day time with full in when bandhu dancers (male) come to the village. The girls are not allowed to the

front of the Mandaghar of the village. The dance is performed without special light

arrangement. The only light is available at that time is from the fire in the Mandaghar which is always kept burning. And this never extinguishing fire is used for pills to warm the feathery face of the Chengu.

There is no special or traditional dress for dancers during their dancing. Girls generally wear different types of beads and necklaces around their neck and breasts. Now-a-days there is a tendency marked in the young ladies to wear red saris. I have found out of seven dancers, four ladies put on red saris. On the occasion of their dancing in bandhu village, the bandhu girls take special care of their beauty by wearing ornaments, ribbons etc. At the time of dance the girls tighten their saris to perform the dances well. The Jueng men wear work clothes (often white in colour), bander tied to bar on their head.

The Ching music instrument used for dance is Ching. Although there are other types of musical instruments, yet none has the universal usage in every dance like Ching. Dance is begun by the males. At first the males gather in front of the Mandaghar. They may be small number. The Ching is beaten first in order to call the girls. About the Ching, they have a saying "by stopping the dead a re-goat you can assemble the girls." (Here the dead sheep refers to the skin of what the Ching is made of). The Ching is beaten for about half an hour before the dance. All other males join in the Ching. The girls come and play along with the males. Maying is prior to the dance. When the first time of playing the Ching is over they beat the Ching for about half an hour. After that the Ching is beaten for about half an hour. After that the Ching is beaten for about half an hour.

"The Ching is beaten for three or four minutes. This is the first time of Ching."

Then the Ching is beaten for about half an hour.

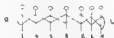
They speak in several times and continue. It is described as "folk song" in detail. Thus it must be sung at the beginning of every dance. After the Ching is beaten they beat the Ching. The girls suddenly appear in front of them, being arranged in a line and immediately they initiate the dance. Then dances of different types start.

Dutton has described various types of Juang dances. Especially he has shown a variety of sportive dances which are "dramatic in effect". Dr. Stern has described various dances such as deer dance, bear dance, elephant dance, bear dance, Kori dance with appropriate songs. But during my investigation of one month I have never come across such dances nor have I received any information regarding this. Among fourteen villages of the Juang there is universal presence of only one type of dance which does not conform to any dance that Dutton and Elwin have mentioned. There is only one genuine reason to account for this difference. Elwin visited the Juang (of Kapthar) forty years ago and Dutton did it even before him. During this forty years, their dance pattern might have declined. According to Bidhu Juang of Astadiba village (who is about sixty years old) who had seen the vulture dance in his boy hood, such dances are performed rarely. Purnender Juang of Tapa Panassakusa village informed me about two other type of dances. In the first type of dance the males dance raising their right legs and females by bending their bodies. In the second type, the males dance while sitting in a semi-circle. But evidence to support this information is rare. He described that they dance after taking wine (which they do sometimes). Such dances are performed out of emotion. Besides, I have marked in their dance after Karma Puga, which the artists performed, being interested. They danced in almost every style, being independent of each other and in the most disorganised manner. Such dances which originate out of excitement due to liquor and which they do not accept in their normal mood, cannot be accepted as types of dances.

Again their roles in dancing must be clarified, before describing the most predominant type of dance. In the dance only males have the right to sing and to use joking terms. They also beat the Chinguz. Females only dance, they cannot answer any joke during dance, they are capable of making musical sounds beating the rhythm of dance by means of their Chudl (which is nature). They can reply in song alternatively after their dance or at the time of returning from market, etc.

In the most common type of dance, the girls stand in front of the boys who beat the Chinguz. They usually stand in a straight line, but during the dance it becomes semi-circular. They held each other, hand in hand and had to each other

as expressed in the following graphic representation



In course of their dance the girls of the extreme ends may release their left or right hand. Boys do not stand in such an interdependent manner. What they do is that they maintain a straight line, which is often a curve during their dance. As soon as the boys sing the song, both parties start dancing by bending their body from the waist and advance backward and forward generally with few steps. Each line of the song is repeated. In the repetition both boys and girls erect their bodies and thus come back to their normal condition. In this state their dance goes advancing backward and forward with the two steps. After one line of the song is over, the boys shift their line into a new direction, generally to the right and female in their dancing state shift the line to face them. Before changing the direction, boys for a little time stand and beat the Chinguz. Usually one song takes half an hour. After one song, the girls may relax breaking the line. The next song begins with their usual state, etc. which directs the tune of the next song. There are also proverbs and other raising songs that are sung at intervals. One such song comes to my notice. It is a pure Gilya song, its meaning is given below.

I have got four villages
Out of which three are bad.
One is good.
The villagers of the good village
Made three earthen pots
Out of the three earthen pots
Two were bad and one was good
They cooked three 'pai' (1 lb. of any unit)
of rice
In the good earthen pot
Out of three 'Pai'
Two 'Pai' of rice were cooked badly
And one 'Pai' was good

To eat one 'pal' of good cooked rice
 Three guests come
 Out of the three
 Two quarrelled with each other
 One of the guests was found to be well
 He gave three bamboos
 Out of three, two were bad,
 One was good
 Out of one bamboo
 Three bows were made
 Out of the three two were bad,
 By the one good bow
 They decided to
 Kill three Sambaras
 Out of three Sambaras
 Two ran away
 And one was killed."

The song is repeated occasionally. It seems to give charm during dance. The next song seems and thus dance goes on. Elders of the village were from the Majang. A strong competitive spirit develops between them and each party tries to defeat the other. In case of 'bandiu' girls, the boys try to beat the changu over night and keep the girls dancing in order to do that they may be divided into two groups to dance alternately. If a girl's party tries to flee away from the dancing ground, the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise the girls do not let the boys fall asleep and try to keep them alert by pouring water on them. During their dancing activities are marked. I have found from the dance in Antedih village where edles came from Tai Ralidha village. Among them there was an elderly lady, a divorced wife) she was the laughing stock of the boys (dancers) of the Antedih village. They made fun of her by telling funny words to her. They often put their changu on her head. On the other side she advanced to her dancing so quickly that her head knocked against the Changu of the boys. The girls do not give reply to the jokes of the boys during dance. What they can do is to kick and step on the foot of the boys. They can throw ash, mud, water, at the boys. They can also pull Changu in order to reply their Changu beating. They can also be divided into two groups to dance with the boys alternately. The dance may continue the whole of the night. Generally they end it at the dawn

of the night when all the villagers fall asleep. The boys take the girls to the nearest secluded place for messaging.

CONCLUSION

Study of Juang folklore through folklore

Folklore is the product of individuals which owes much of its excellence to society in which a folk lives. It is therefore obvious to think that folklore bears the inner view of the society along with the producer's own motives, thoughts and feelings. The great arts of today bear the evidences of social life and there are innumerable instances present to justify it. The ancient mythologies such as the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the Illiad and Odyssey the Penchatance, etc., are full of social significances. It may not be equal to the modern twentieth century literature to search for record of social life. But the social life sketched in the ancient literatures & full of supernatural imaginations where as the modern literature and art reflect the society most realistically.

The study of the folklore without folk life becomes partial. Folklore is the voice of the folk and mirror of the nature surrounding. Social life of the individuals of the Juang is greatly reflected in their folklores (their folk rituals, dance and art.) But all the goods of folklore may not bear such social significance. For instance in the styles of dance, in the decorative designs of pieces of the Majang, etc., many are of no social significance. The Juang folklores are a great repository of social life. To start with the Juang rituals, the folk stories, etc. are replete with social significance.

In the story Shaked bilit the main work is affairs regarding the condition of the marriage are well reflected. It is in their story that sons of the marabout marry by means of 'Ghicha' (earn, go by capture). Ghicha marriage is not unfamiliar to Juang society. Instances of such marriages are abundant. For the youngest son (in the story) there was no bride to be captured. The father had to go in search of a bride. The behavioural and service, which a daughter-in-law ought to maintain in a Juang society is very well depicted in the character of Shakedbat. In her character we see a Juang house wife doing her daily chores starting with sweeping the floor of the house with cowdung, then cooking food, serving the food to every member of the family and lastly taking it herself. In other literary forms the character of the women did not gain opportunity to reveal themselves.

In other stories the ladies are characterized not from the point of view. The ladies as painted in stories are often disloyal, cunning and submissive to injustice. This type of characterization is not due to the personal prejudice of story tellers against women, but according to the character behaviour and manner of the women found among the Juang. In the Shahdabati story the youngest daughter-in-law remains silent at the time of her remarriage with King Hela. Again she cannot recognize her husband from his voice and appearance as he is in disguise as a yogi. She has only committed suicide after knowing this. Which was the only alternative for her. But she does not make any attempt to protest against the injustice done to her. In the story of King Kanak's daughter the lady is cunning and villain every inch. She loved the general of the State though she had been predetermined to marry the prince of another State. She was playing dice in a secluded room where the prince was sleeping in disguise as a beggar. Her evil character was revealed there. Very cunningly she overcame that and very skillfully pronounced a death sentence to the prince through her father. As a result, at the end of the story, she had to commit suicide, the only reward for a devil's life. This is neither the story teller's imagination to paint their heroine like this, nor is it my intellectual charm to deduce such a proposition from these stories. But it is the actual life of the Juang which is characterized.

I found the history of the wife of Mali Juang of Barua village, where the girl has no fidelity to her lover which is reflected in the story of King Kanak's daughter. In this case the girl (Mali Juang's wife) had developed a special love for a boy of Uper Rajdha village before her marriage. It took the form of an arranged marriage by the mutual consent of their parents. When such was the situation the girl came to dance in Barua village and there she was captured by Mali Juang and they married (by means of Ghicha). This is not true of her fate, as she married him without any protest and she is quite happy with her husband, forgetting her lover. There are some other examples to justify this character as painted in their stories. A proper insight in to their way of life provides much more material to correlate the characters of the stories with those of the real life.

Again in the Juang Society a new bride is better accompanied by her sisters-in-law than her parents-in-law, this is well reflected in the

story of Shahdabati. Here both the parents-in-law refused to take care of the bride (Shahdabati) in the absence of her husband and directed him to ask his sisters who could take better care of her.

The Juang heroes, as depicted in the stories are characterized in a positive manner—perhaps for the sake of the story. But there are certain examples in their stories which reveal the Juang character. A Juang prince is kind hearted, strong, beautiful no doubt. But he bribed the Minister to escape a death punishment. Rust, the hero of another story resorted to forgery in order to spare the life of the merchant's son. In the story of 'Brother monkey' the monkey went on kidnapping the goat, the cow, the buffalo and finally the merchant's daughter. Thus the fraudulent character has found expression in this story. But for this there are positive means which could be adopted to achieve these ends. But due to lack of positive imagination and influence of the society upon the story teller, the characters are painted so weakly.

Local colour is printed every where. Maps, dice of the time, place and person. The Juang have the idea of king, but they are not conscious of what kingship means, so far as the royal position and majestic character of a king is concerned. In most of their stories whether king or rich merchant they go on digging out tungs and banga (two roots used as means of their livelihood), the king eats rice and drink as the royal dish, a king can sleep on a cot made up of rope, which is found frequently in the day-to-day life of the Juang. The names of kings are always local. The king is often named as 'Kanak' 'Hela' etc. The prince may use golden teeth to replace the tooth which might decay on account of smoking pipes. The dress pattern of the king is very simple, not different from that of a common Juang man. He can use a turban and a long shirt. His tungs is on an elephant only shows his distinction as a king. This has been reflected in the story Shahdabati and in the story of King Kanak's daughter. Shahdabati receives the prestige of a queen by being taken on an elephant, the king and queen go to see the cremation of the yogi on an elephant, the prince in his marriage procession rides an elephant. In their various songs the importance of elephant is marked. These are not the more descriptions of stories, but the descriptions of the Juang social life.

Myth and legend in these myths aspects give recognition to the social action of the people. They contain only frame work of the main stories to justify the situation, other than the descriptions to contain enough social instances. But even in their small stature possessing vast description, they speak a good deal of the Juangs. Now-a-days the Juangs do not eat beef. But they were taking that and there is a myth present to justify their beef eating habit. Again there is another legend where this phenomena is again reflected. Here the Rusiputs had taken beef and told a lie. The Ruli cursed them on that account. The Juang social character is disclosed when these two phenomena are analysed. Here in one myth the Juangs have been sanctioned to take beef. But in another they have been cursed for doing so. This justifies the fact that, though they were beef eaters yet it was not culturally sanctioned. That is why the Ruli putras immediately denied this having taken beef and were cursed. This shows that the Juangs are conscious of the fact that beef eating is a sign of low status, and the persons like Ruli putras should not take beef. This later view of the Juangs is continued by resolving poor reputation from the myth regarding beef eating. And its truth is again, justified when they abruptly stop beef eating by a single knock of cultural revolution made by Rabi Mirza on the pre-existing Juang culture. Coming to the more practical life its truth is again clarified. For example there have been so many reforms made by many authorities to abolish such customs as leaf dress, dance, drinking wine, etc. But the Juangs have been showing their reluctance to be reformed (as evidenced from their present existing customs). Even, there have been sharp reactions pointed against the items such as wearing of clothes instead of leaf dress as expressed in their myth and songs. But nothing is made against the abandon of beef eating. They have accepted it with their own reservation regarding social prestige.

Juang brothers and sisters do not live in their house during the night they engage themselves in dance (through not with each other). Here the myth regarding their youth dormitory justifies the social action. The apprehension that brothers and sisters by sleeping with their parents in the same house may exhibit their inner urge in the form of sexual intercourse is engendered from the thought of Ruli in the myth.

There is a good reason as to the question why the Juangs are not in favour of keeping co-wives though polygamy exists rarely in their society. Generally they take a second wife when the first wife is proved to be barren, and if the second wife bears children, then an enmity between the co-wives develops. Even if two wives have children there is always quarrel among them due to the fact that each mother develops paying special attention towards her own children. This family quarrel and mental agony exist in the polygamous household is well reflected in their myth concerning the creation of day and night and stars, where enmity between the sun and the moon (co-wives) leads to the death of their children and the separation of one from another. They are allowed to meet at the same time neither in the day nor in the night.

The folk songs of the Juangs are patched with a great deal of social significance. In many songs the Juang house has been mentioned in relation to the natural objects. Their house is always described with Mahua tree, jack fruit, the cowdung hill, clouds and the moon. In many of the songs the description of the house with the night's darkness is depicted vividly. A special mention can be made regarding the personification of natural places in the songs. The river Mahanad, Belarani hills like Gonesika, Malyagiri places like Gonesikaban, Keonjhar Belal are always personified in their songs. From the agricultural songs we find the agricultural activities of the people. From the songs of love and beauty and innumerable social situations can be visualized. In these songs there is description of beautiful girls. There is the mental image of a girl whose teeth are clear, who walks gently in river Belarani, whose ornaments are new, who stands in front of the cowdung hills, looking herself whether she looks beautiful or not. Thus the general psychology of the Juang girls has been noted. She looks beautiful in relation to the rising moon. In another song the poet has seen her in the jungle where a Sahib hunts an elephant. He has seen her when she carries leaf cups on her head. Sometimes the beautiful girl is named as 'figuhamak'—the esteemed lady of the dancers. They have been searching for her for about fifteen days. Her walks are charming. She has no small pox marks on her face, she is as tender as a green creeper. The boy, in order to present her, collects crabs from the

streams, from the Suakati market, he brings dukas for pots and ornaments for his. Again the girls from Cutback are always beautiful.

All these descriptions are original. These are the descriptions relating to the beauty of girls of their imagination which borrow most of the evidences from their real life. In the hunting songs there is description of preparing curry with the flesh of an animal, how it is prepared and with what spices. The songs containing historical evidence are full of social exemplifications. One song expresses the disaster that befalls due to the introduction of cloth and it records a clear picture of the contemporary Juang society, that is, the Juang of today do not obey their parents, the cows and buffaloes are carried away by small-pox diseases, the annual crops are damaged, the chastity of ladies is at stake.

The expeditions of the Shabhis (the British officials) are always described in the social context. The Shabhis come, they pitch their tents fixing the ropes with Assam logs, they make their supper with the help of the Pans and the Pures (local people), they go to the jungle for hunting. Here Shabhis' hunting of the elephants is not tolerated by the Juangs. Not only hunting of elephants, but also cutting down of the big trees like Sal, etc., are always painful to the Juang. In the folk song the mental agony and sorrow also come into picture. From one song it is clear that the hunting of an elephant does not cause less sorrow than the stabbing of the Sal arrow into the heart. The Shabhis return by their bus. By their orders large pieces of logs are carried to the river from where it is transported to Cuttack.

The religious recitations speak of the social attitude of the people. The tie of Mandehip among the Juang is very strong. When a boy leaves the Marjeng after his marriage he has to go through many rituals and he has to beg excuse for his departure from Changu dance and other communal activities participated by youths. Co-operation and friendship among the bachelors on occasions of dancing, shifting cultivation, making dancing trip, etc. are very strong and lovable. There is a song regarding Lord Shikrishna's return to Mathura. Here Krishna is not seen-off by the ladies of the Gopapura, but by his fellow friends, whom he loves the most. The fellow friends are extremely unhappy to remain without Krishna.

The Juang social action can be exhibited in this light. In many societies or in our famous 'Bhangab' there is the description of the peeping of Shikrishna with his parents, 'Radha' and other ladies of Gopapura. But Shikrishna's leaving taking from his friends is not so thoroughly depicted. The Juang uniqueness can be realized in this respect. Here Krishna is regarded more as an unmarried Juang Youth who co-operates with them on every occasion, rather than as a lover of the sixteen hundred ladies of Gopapura and no Radha laments at his departure, but his friends. This is nothing but strong social relationship that causes such a deviation.

There are many idlers which I have omitted due to their naked sexual implications. Further they are also of less importance. The riddles such as how vagina swallows the hard grinding stone, position of the couple at the time of the sexual intercourse who look like a big monkey, having two heads, etc.—are the outcome of such social actions. The Juang riddles are greatly related to their social surrounding. The description of the serene vessels, Changu Mahua tree, Pansai's wheel, the shell and all other objects around which the Juang asteric culture centres, have been intellectually varied in the riddles.

Proverbs have originated from the interesting events that occur in the society. The practical jokes played on occasions of dancing trips and other joking relationships, have great social significance. The Juang boys go to another bandhu village to dance. In their speech ensued between them bear their social behaviour. The girls always call themselves as unsouchables and boys look thin and beautiful as they are supplied with fine rice and dal. The marriage of brothers and sisters are universally taboos. This is here interpreted jokingly if the girls do not come to their bandhu village, the boys humorously tell them that they should remain in their village and marry their own brothers. In the marriage the bridegroom always cuts joke with his brother-in-law saying that he would marry his own sister.

In the Juang dance, especially in its style the social phenomena is less reflected. Dance has a greater significance than its functional point of view, but bears no greater social reflection. Regarding the dress of dancers, social significance is greatly marked. They have no special dress to be worn during their dance. They usually wear ordinary clothes at that time also.

The satisfaction of an artist lies not in the creation of something new but in the expression of reality. So various 'schools' or 'isms' of art are meaningless to a Juang artist. In this respect a Juang artist's free imagination does not cross the boundaries of the society in which he lives. The Juang art does not involve any complex, definite theme, but only fragments of social phenomena. The leaves carved on the wooden doors show the artist's awareness of the social surrounding. The carving of the man on the wooden beam, though not realistic, shows a dancing pose. The Juang comb that I have found are pretty old, the figures carved on them are men in dancing pose. But it has no resemblance to the Juang dance, or to any activity of the Juang. One informant gave his opinion, that he had carved the figure of a man in his natural condition. The information obtained from another man is quite interesting. He said that the group of people that he carved on the comb are the dancers, and the irregularity marked in their limbs, is due to the fact that they have taken liquor before dance. If this interpretation is regarded as true and correct, then it should be realised that the artist has observed the society keenly which he has depicted on the comb.

FUNCTIONS OF FOLKLORE

According to Alan Dundes "the aspect of function is of less concern to literary folklorists but perhaps of greater concern to anthropological folklorists". Folklore in the Juang in its various forms performs the functions in the following manner. One of the major functions that folklore performs in the Juang society, irrespective whether in the form of literature, art and dance, is that it provides entertainment to the minds of the people. The Juang economy is of low status and so is their way of living. Pleasure is generally scarce in this society where people have to face hard reality of life and where the struggle for existence is acute. Folklore has its function here. Listening to the intricate complexities and adventures embodied in their folk stories, myth and legends, the humour, the gestures and practical jokes in their dance accompanied by the Changu music, drum and communal messaging in the night, representing their thought and artistic excellency in their walls, pillars and wooden doors provides an enjoyable escape from the hard reality of their life.

Folklore helps promoting education. Here education does not stand for academic education. Folklore is synonym to tribal culture—their way of life. The function in this regard is performed by educating the people according to their own culture. For example, in their society the males are trained well to carry on shifting cultivation and females are made accustomed to weave Paties. This fact of their myth prevailing among them after innumerable generations provides a strong support to their culture in this aspect. There are a good number of instances as to how the manner and style of folk dance, the decorative art, etc., are made by folklore. On the other hand the Juang, though in a limited number keen to the stories, myths and legends songs, etc., and know the meaning—which educate them in providing these thoughtful materials.

One of the functions which folk literature seeks to perform is to provide a media to satisfy the epistemological urge of the Juang people. Their intellectual thirst is quenched by providing a ready made interpretation to the natural and cultural phenomena that surround them.

The role of folk literature, in promoting education is more remarkable than any other forms. This happens in two ways. Firstly, it educates them to enrich knowledge and help them in learning their culture. Secondly this educational process is sustained by transmission from one generation to another. Myth and legend have special place in performing this function. They contain certain essential educational informations which are believed to be true. For example one may say that to tell lies is as hot, but myth and legend show clearly, how by telling lies the Ruelputas were cursed and how river Baltaran emerged from the nostrils of the cow.

Riddles are the other media through which intellect of the Juang has been displayed. It teaches us to how animals, plants and other things of nature can be intellectually interpreted. This opens up other characters, which can be metaphorically used and thus increase their sense of beauty in forming a sentence. For example in their society Changu is conceived as a musical instrument. Through riddle it is interpreted in another way, that is 'beating of a dead goat can gather the girls'. This again helps reforming their way of talking. For example

they may say "hang the goat skin on the wall", instead of saying "hang the Changs on the wall".

There are certain forms of legend which also have educative value. The anecdotal legend relating to the quarrel among the five fingers is a very good evidence of the wisdom and intellect of their master who explained that the little finger was superior to all other fingers in spite of its small size. In another, an intelligent girl frees her father of a debt by means of her sharp intellect in interpreting the various words in her speech. Further, all these educational materials are transmitted and they function as a permanent school of learning.

In the Juang society folk literature helps maintain conformity to cultural values and accepted patterns of behaviour. It is widely used to express their approval and disapproval through the application of social pressure and social control imposed on them. The myths forwarded by the Juang justify reason behind almost every phenomenon. There are folk tales displaying ideal patterns. In all these items the appreciation of the people concerning every social action is exhibited. Disapproval is also marked in some of them. In this State whenever there is a question of social control there is a reaction immediately by means of all these existing beliefs and explanations.

The song regarding the use of cloth reveals a truth in this regard. The British officials compelled them not to wear leaf dress which they accepted with much unwillingness and in mental agony. It is true that they did not revolt against this openly. But their sharp reaction was expressed in the song "Bungundi Manigundi...".

Not only the songs, but also various myths suggest how by using clothes a woman was killed by tiger in the forest. Folk songs are also used to criticize and rebuke. For instance British officials came and killed the elephants and cut down the big trees and this was recited by the Juang in the words "Ganhs kata kumpaniki nahsle mamee" (In the song "Gajaku akus kale chudiga,").

In order to criticize and condemn one's action going against the ideal of the society, proverbs contribute much in this respect. For instance the part of the proverb—"Chahits chhuah, melpa einda" (In the proverb "Kathara dundaru...") is usually expressed to criticize a woman who

leaves her work to be done by her husband. Thus it acts as a strong stimulant factor to keep the duty of man and women without interchange or any alteration.

Another function is that folklore acts as a kind of social authority. Melnikowski has shown how myth provides a warrant and charter for magic, ceremony, ritual and social structure. Myths of the Juang are cited as an authority on the question of religious beliefs, ritual procedures and justify social action.

There are some important functions behind their dance. The Juang dance, as I have seen, is not a complicated one, that is, any body and every body in their society can dance according to this style. This is mainly due to the fact that dance is a necessary activity and not a leisurely activity like other forms of folklore. The fact that dance is "artistic performance of some" is replaced here by the fact that it is an "artistic performance of all". This inclusive dance, performed by all is due to the fact that it has got some necessity in the Juang Society. The functions of dance are manifold. Firstly, dance establishes marriage relationship. The reason is apparent. The dancers make dancing trips to their bandhu villages and their relations being developed through love result in marriage settlement. There are certain rules in the dance which help maintenance of stability in their society. For example, boys and girls of one village, being brothers and sisters cannot marry; therefore there cannot be communal messaging between them and thus free talk is restricted there. Again this fact leads to the prohibition of dance between two kumb villages. Thus by this rule social taboo is well maintained. Further by despatching dancing trips friendship between two bandhu villages is continued and the friendship of the dancers—boys and girls, develops the most cordial relationship. Thus suggest people must dance in order to have such function.

Art has no great function except to promote critical capability. The influence of arts, embodied in the Majeng makes others practise art. For example in the Barua village, the Majeng was rebuilt by the Sarder, Padhan and Achhab Juang of the village. Along with these they have made certain new pillars which are more artistic than the former ones.

Thus in brief, folklore performs important functions such as promoting education, providing an enjoyable escape from the hard reality, acting as an authority to smother the disturbances arising from the existing state of affairs. Further it helps maintaining social solidarity and is the media of reaction to maintain cultural continuity and stability.

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